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Libert iew

The Present Danger: The U.S.—Soviet Arms Race

Richard Barnet

David Brudnoy
The Alternative: An American Spectacle

Jeff Riggenbach
Libertarians and the Media

Murray Rothbard
Tax Rebellion in Illinois

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Letters

Abortion and the ERA—I am a member of the Association of Libertarian Feminists as is Joan Kennedy Taylor, but I do not share her enthusiasm for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion. (July 1977)

The ERA states: "(1) Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. (2) The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article. (3) This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification."

These words may sound libertarian but they mean otherwise as I discovered when I asked leading supporters to define the terms.

"Equality" means "egalité".

"Rights" means "legalized powers and privileges".

"Sex" means not just "male" and "female" but "homosexual", "lesbian", and "sexual techniques".

"by the U.S. or by any state" means also "by the individual".

"appropriate legislation" means "whatever legislation those in power want".

Given these definitions, given the intentions of most of the supporters of the ERA, and given the inclinations and powers of Congress, this amendment will expand the role of the State in our lives, not reduce it. It will take away rights, not protect them, for men and for women.

I oppose abortion because it kills innocent human beings. Ironically for those who say that abortion is a woman's right, half of those killed by that procedure are females.

Women have the right to control their own reproduction by the use of contraceptive techniques, which prevent the creation of new human beings, not by abortions, which snuff out the lives of existing ones. The right to control one's own body does not include a right to control another's body. The mother's right to her body does not give her a right to do what she wants to with her child's. Because she caused the child to occupy her body and to need her care and because this situation was imposed upon the child without its assent, the mother has the obligation to care for the child, not a right to kill it.

I fail to see where the willingness to submit to an abortion operation does anything to equalize the relationship between the sexes or advance the cause of women's rights and welfare in relation to men. Instead, women should be able to expect that men will share, not shirk, the burden of contraception and the obligation of parenthood when a child is conceived as a result of their actions. — Doris Gordon, Wheaton, Md.

Joan Kennedy Taylor Responds—I don't think that one gets very far by accepting the definition of "leading supporters" of any piece of legislation in today's world. The National Woman's Party, the one-issue party which first drafted the ERA in 1923 and has introduced it in every session of Congress since then does not agree with Ms. Gordon's definitions but considers the ERA necessary to do away with protective labor legislation for women and with legal restrictions on women's domicile, right to sue and be sued, right to open a business without permission, and a raft of similar legal inequities. It is defenders of such laws that are working against the ERA, whether they call themselves liberals or conservatives.

So I do support the ERA, but in my article I was reporting on Betty Friedan's recognition that equality before the law and reproductive control were the two important feminist issues for women all over the world. If women have no legal equality and no control over when and if they have children, then the state has seriously invaded their rights. I certainly do not mean to communicate to *LR* readers any "enthusiasm" for abortion, as that is not my personal position.

I would hope that libertarian feminists will soon be able to find a wording on the abortion issue that recognizes both the right of a woman to control her own body *and* the difficult moral problem involved. I see no solution other than to insist that the state stay out of the issue. Since it is possible for a woman to be impregnated against her will, to allow the state to forbid abortions is to say that women are potentially the property of the state—fields to be plowed. On the other hand, to allow the state to set up guidelines for abortion is to open the door to state-mandated abortions. One of the beneficial results of the Supreme Court's anti-abortion ruling was that it required those organizations who opposed abortion to take up the burden of setting up voluntary and private alternatives to abortion, for women caught in a desperate plight.

That is the route we should take, it seems to me. Encourage non-governmental adoption services, counseling, shelters, and services for the expectant mothers that emphasize the gravity of the choice. And tell the state to stay out of the area completely.

Why should libertarians, who rightfully distrust the state in so many areas, trust it to act wisely in this area alone? Joan Kennedy Taylor, Stockbridge, Mass.

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Editor:
Roy A. Childs, Jr.

Executive Editor:
Walter K. Olson

Associate Editors:
Walter E. Grinder
Charles H. Hamilton
Leonard P. Liggio
Joseph R. Peden
Joan Kennedy Taylor

Contributing Editor:
Murray N. Rothbard

Administrative Assistant:
Carol Dauber

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Editorials

LIBERTY AND POLITICAL COURAGE

Despite the fact that 1977 was an off-year, the elections held throughout the nation brought a great many lessons and surprises for observers of political trends in America. But none was more ominous than the startling re-election of Brendan Byrne as governor of New Jersey. No one had expected Brendan Byrne to defeat his Republican opponent, State Senator Ray Bateman. Behind that election result, lies something of a story. For those outside of the eastern corridor, it will prove valuable to look at what happened, and at what it all means for the future of American politics.

The saga began last year when, retreating from earlier promises, Gov. Brendan Byrne of New Jersey managed to ram through the Democratic-controlled state legislature the first state income tax in New Jersey history. The taxpayers were incensed: rallies were held to oppose the income tax, and to sharply denounce Byrne for this stab in the back. Byrne became bitterly unpopular, and as of last April, his popularity with the voters, according to public polls, had dropped to a measly 16% of the electorate. New Jersey Republicans dubbed the governor "One-Term Byrne," and everyone agreed that Brendon Byrne didn't have a prayer of defeating virtually *any* Republican challenger—short of Atilla the Hun or Richard Nixon.

And yet, Byrne fought back, first defeating a truckload of challengers to win the re-nomination for governor on the Democratic Party line, and then defeating Republican challenger Ray Bateman himself, 57 percent to 43 percent. Pre-election polls predicted a Bateman victory by twelve percent, and yet by the time the ballots were counted, Bateman stood defeated. How did Brendan Byrne do it? And how did Bateman, the opponent of the income tax and initially beloved by New Jersey voters, manage to lose to the previously despised Byrne?

The answer is that Bateman ran a campaign so botched, so compromising, so stupid—in short, so *Republican*—that by the end of the campaign, no one took seriously his promise to end the income tax. "How would he run the government without the income tax?" Byrne challenged. Bateman beat around the bush, hemming and hawing, and said that he'd find a way—then produced a convoluted program that no one could understand, let alone accept. "What programs would he cut?" Byrne badgered. Bateman refused to give a definite answer, finally proclaiming, unrealistically, that he didn't have to cut *anything* back. "What other taxes would he be forced to raise?" Byrne demanded. Bateman shuffled around in circles, and finally endorsed a 1 percent increase in the state *sales tax* instead of continuing the income tax. "Well, just how long did Bateman really expect to go without the income tax?" Byrne asked triumphantly. Bateman mumbled something about perhaps as long as his entire first term as governor, thus giving the whole show away.

The public began to slip off the Bateman bandwagon in contempt. By election day, fully 75 percent of registered voters—who had backed Ray Bateman out of a frantic desire to stop the state government from grabbing ever more of their cash—had become convinced that Bateman could not run the state without the income tax. They felt betrayed, and abandoned.

They turned away from Bateman in droves, choosing instead to vote for an honest thief—Gov. Brendan Byrne, who had led a virtual crusade in defense of the hated tax, pouncing triumphantly on Bateman's every evasion, singing the praises of taxation, and openly admitting that *he*, at least, would not hedge or budge: he was in favor of the tax, he had no intention of cutting back the size of government—not by one damned program—and he would do everything in his power to see that the income tax *stayed*.

Bateman's contemptible campaign sealed his own doom, which was richly deserved.

Defenders of big government cheered the election results, and we began to hear from every corner that, well, maybe the much-heralded revolt against big government was just so much hot air. Defenders of statism began to pick up the Humphrey line: just what programs do these so-called opponents of "big government" intend to *cut*, anyway? Being typical chiselers and compromisers, and possessed of no ideology or public vision, Republicans and others have responded with muffled squawks about "efficiency" as being the solution. But people have been hearing that line for so many years that nobody even bothers to listen to it any more. Democrats laugh up their sleeves, and figure—correctly—that if *that* is the approach that Republicans are going to take, then they constitute no threat at all to growing government.

Which is precisely the case. Last year, during the Republican Party national convention, John Herbers wrote in an article in the *New York Times* that "Republicans are together—in fear of big government." The convention was a virtual gathering place, he wrote, "for those who are concerned about big government." Well, there may be a *concern* to be found among Republicans, but there certainly are no *brains* to be found there.

The reason for their failures lies in the fact that, lacking an ideology, the Republicans necessarily also lack anything remotely resembling political *courage*. One constantly finds them using beefed-up Democratic "social welfare" programs to bribe the electorate. They may bellyache about "big government" at every turn, but pressure them to name *specific programs*

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that they would abolish, and all that one gets out of them is the moral equivalent of laryngitis.

The lesson of the story is simple: to really oppose "big government," we need to get *tough-minded*. We cannot pull punches. Not only do we need alternative political ideals, but we must not rest so long as these ideals remain untranslated into political concretes. But to so translate them, we need to be willing to show the same courage in *opposing* government programs and the taxes necessary to support them, as people like Hubert Humphrey and Brendan Byrne have shown in *defending* such burgeoning government programs. **We cannot afford the luxury of cowardice.**

The case of New Jersey has shown us clearly that voters will choose a supporter of big government and higher taxes who *levels* with them—who is honest and forthright—over an opponent of such who sidesteps tough issues, evading honest answers. If we are to be serious defenders of individual liberty, we must be willing to name the things we are opposed to, to give reasons, and to stand firm. The American people will not stand for anything halfhearted or weak.

If we really wish to turn American politics around, we need to say what we mean, and have the courage to mean what we say. It is not an easy path. But it is the only path that can lead to victory.

THE REVENGE OF THE RATS

In recent years, cancer experiments have been surrounded by an ever-growing controversy, not only over the question of banning substances "shown" to cause cancer, but over the validity of the experiments as well. As medicine becomes increasingly politicized, and paternalism reigns supreme as Federal doctrine, this is bound to happen, because when science is used for political ends, it necessarily becomes a target of those whose political ends differ from those of the establishment. The problems raised by most conflicts over the "harms" and "benefits" established—however tenuously—by science can be solved only by letting people act freely, choosing the level of risk acceptable to them, given their own judgments.

What happens when this is not the case is enchantingly illustrated by a charming story in *The New York Times* of October 23, 1977: "A Cancer Experiment Spurs Controversy," by Lawrence K. Altman. It is the story of a raging controversy—with a touch of humor, and a *point*.

Dr. George Moore, of Denver General Hospital, together with his collaborator, Dr. William Palmer, conducted an experiment in which they induced cancer in a small group of rats . . . by inserting **sterilized dimes** into their bodies. They published their findings in a prestigious medical journal, in a letter titled "Money Causes Cancer: Ban It." The researchers called for Federal officials to "convene an emergency meeting for the purpose of removing all money from circulation." The result was an uproar in the scientific community.

A public interest group immediately assaulted Dr. Moore, claiming that he conducted his tests merely to make a satiric point. The Federation of American Scientists in Washington called the experiment "pointless." A scientist at the National Institute of Health called it "a disgraceful affair," and—egads!—"a misuse of cancer funds and of laboratory animals to make a humorous point."

Finally, groups devoted to animal rights sprang into action, denouncing Dr. Moore for his flagrant violations of the rights of rats. Slaughtering rats wholesale with diet sodas was one thing, but killing them with cash was going too far. When the chuckling stopped, Dr. Moore was obliged to defend himself, which he did, with considerable style.

Dr. Moore said he resented such charges, claiming that the experiment had an essentially serious point, despite its tongue-in-cheek form. The purpose, he said, was to make "people stop and say, 'Hey, maybe we have to be more careful in applying the Delaney clause, and maybe we have to rethink the actual logic of the things we are doing and the reasonableness of it.' " (The "Delaney Clause" is, as the *Times* reminds us, "part of Federal legislation that bans any food additive that is found to cause cancer experimentally.")

"Every week," Dr. Moore said in an interview, "there is an announcement about another new cause or cure of cancer, and I think it is demeaning to those of us in cancer research . . . to have this constant blizzard of inane claims. I don't see how the public can sort them out. A lot of the claims of the carcinogencity (cancer-producing capability) of the things we are eating are open to debate. It does the profession of human and animal research a disfavor. . . . I am making the point that you can take a common everyday thing—a coin—and if you pick the right animal and put it in the right place, you can cause cancer. If someone cut out dime-sized discs from credit cards and placed them in mice, they would also cause cancer. I think this is one of the things that make many of these announcements rather less than reasonable. They must be rethought. . . ."

This is precisely the case. But even more must be rethought the *politics* of cancer research, the view that the government has the right and duty to ban everything and anything that—however administered and in whatever doses— can be "shown" (how tenuous is that claim!) to "cause" cancer.

Far from being a laetrile freak, Dr. George Moore, 57 years old, has been widely celebrated for the cancer research that he has been doing since he was twenty-five years old. But he has helped call attention to the wild claims made by establishment cancer researchers who are, today, as anxious to notch their scalpels—in the name of a product banned as a result of their research, as gunslingers were, a hundred years ago, to notch their guns—in the name of a different kind of victory, which also violated human rights.

The complexities of the issues must be sorted out: we must see that we can support science, without supporting government coercion in the name of product bans. One does not necessarily lead to the other. The sooner that is understood, the better.

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Washington Watch

MORE ON THE ENERGY COVERUP

By Bruce Bartlett

In September I reported that the Carter Administration was responsible for suppressing a report by the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) called the Market Oriented Program Planning Study (MOPPS), which showed vast amounts of natural gas available in the United States at a decontrolled price.

The Carter Administration has continued its coverup tactics with the firing of Dr. Vincent McKelvey, head of the U.S. Geological Survey, for being too optimistic about the Nation's potential energy resources.

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In July Dr. McKelvey gave a speech in Boston in which he noted that there are vast reserves of natural gas in the geopressurized zones of the gulf region, both onshore and offshore. He said that investigations in the area have led to estimates of as much as 60,000 to 80,000 trillion cubic feet of natural gas available. As McKelvey observed:

"This is an almost incomprehensively large number. Even the bottom range represents about ten times the energy value of all oil, gas and coal reserves of the United States combined."

Needless to say, such an outlook runs totally contrary to the doomsday scenerio projected by the Carter Administration to justify the imposition of massive taxes and controls on the American people in the name of energy conservation.

Thus, when the *Oil Daily* reported in a small notice on September 8 that Dr. McKelvey had been forced to resign, some people began to feel that this was part of an ongoing effort by the Carter Administration to suppress dissent on the energy issue.

One of those people was Congressman Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.), who has been in the forefront of the fight against Carter's energy plan in Congress.

In remarks which appeared in the *Congressional Record* on September 14, Kemp called McKelvey's ouster "an absolute scandal," and cited McKelvey's findings as support for total deregulation of natural gas.

The *Wall Street Journal* took note of Kemp's remarks and published an editorial called "Good-bye, Dr. McKelvey" on September 16. In this editorial the *Journal* noted that McKelvey had been with the Geological Survey since 1941, had been nominated as director by the prestigious National Academy of Sciences, and is the first director of the USGS ever to be removed from his position.

Since then nothing has been heard of the case of Dr. McKelvey, while the President continues to try to push his energy program through an increasingly hostile Congress.

It is becoming harder and harder every day to comprehend why President Carter is pushing so hard on an energy program which is more likely to destroy the American economy than anything else. It makes no sense either politically or economically.

The best analysis I have seen of the reasons for Carter's position is in Lewis Lapham's article, "The Energy Debacle," in the August issue of *Harper's*.

Lapham identifies the roots of the Carter policy as going back to the Ford Foundation's energy project in 1971. In a massive study called *A Time to Choose*, which was directed by one S. David Freeman, it was argued that the inherent shortage of conventional energy necessitated a massive conservation program.

Despite very serious criticism of the Ford study, notably by a group of highly respected economists in a book called *No Time to Confuse*, Freeman went on to become James Schlesinger's chief assistant in the Carter Administration. But this still does not explain why Freeman's view (which is widely known) was so completely adopted both by Carter and Schlesinger, who, as a professional economist, certainly ought to know better.

One can only conclude that this is part of an ongoing confrontation between those who believe in the initiative and resourcefulness of man in overcoming obstacles, and those with little faith in man's abilities. In a sense, it is the continuation of the growth versus no-growth debate which goes back at least to Malthus.

Let us hope that despite the firing of Dr. McKelvey and the MOPPS coverup that the doomsdayers don't succeed.

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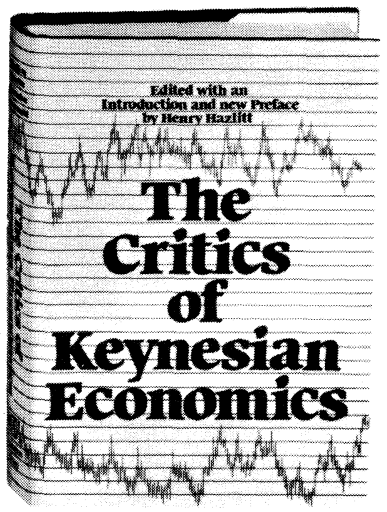
BACK IN PRINT: 22 master economists leave Keynes naked and shivering



Excerpts from a review by Murray N. Rothbard in *National Review*

Mr. Hazlitt has dug deep to unearth long-forgotten or even unknown criticisms of Keynes, published over the years since the *General Theory* appeared in 1936. As isolated essays or journal articles, they could be, and were, dismissed during the Keynesian hullabaloo. But, put together, they form an impressive and many-sided scholarly criticism of Keynes, on varying levels of political interest and technical difficulty. . . .

Hazlitt also earns our gratitude by including the long out-of-print presentations of Say's Law of Markets by J. B. Say and John Stuart Mill; for these nineteenth-century demonstrations that there can be no such thing as general "overproduction" or "underconsumption" on a free market are as fresh and valid today as they were a century and a half ago. The Sisyphean feat of Hazlitt and the other authors in pulverizing and clearing away the Keynesian rubble opens the way for a return to Say's Law and to those economists, like Ludwig von Mises, who have brilliantly built upon that law as a solid foundation.

While the Keynesian system is a tissue of fallacies, it is a mistake to dismiss it brusquely, as many conservative economists have done, as nonsense. It *is* nonsense, in the last resort; but failure to deal with its fallacies in detail and in depth has left the field of ideas open for Keynesianism to conquer. Now, at long last, we have . . . the ammunition to slay the enemy.

For a generation after it appeared in 1936, Lord Keynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* was Holy Writ for most economists. Yet it evoked major criticisms—many of them, however, buried in learned journals. Henry Hazlitt gathered nearly two dozen of them in 1960 for this important book. Together they comprise the most impressive refutation of Keynes ever assembled in book form.

The contributors read like an honor roll of free-market economists:

Ludwig von Mises	Arthur F. Burns
F. A. Hayek	Wilhelm Roepke
Jacques Rueff	Joseph Stagg Lawrence
L. Albert Hahn	John H. Williams
Jacob Viner	Garet Garrett
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Frank H. Knight	Franco Modigliani
Jean Baptiste Say	Philip Cortney
Benjamin J. Anderson	R. Gordon Wasson
W. H. Hutt	David McCord Wright
John Stuart Mill	Henry Hazlitt

Mill and Say of course antedated Keynes by a century. Mr. Hazlitt includes them because they constitute "a refutation in advance" of the *General Theory*.

Out of print for years, this collection includes a number of important essays otherwise hard or impossible to find in English.

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Crosscurrents

By Walter E. Grinder

● **Cato Institute Expands Operations**

In a year of steady and dynamic growth in the libertarian movement, it is difficult to pick out one item that we can call the most important. Who can say whether it is the comprehensive libertarian platform adopted by the Libertarian Party; the publications, conferences and programs of the Center for Libertarian Studies; or the expanded format and increased publication dates of the revamped *Libertarian Review*? All of these add up to an exciting year of progress for the movement.

Yet, if I were asked to pick out that one critical item, I would unhesitatingly choose the opening of Cato Institute (1700 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA 94111), as this year's most significant development. I am certain that Cato will exert enormous influence extending far into the foreseeable future.

For the first time in modern libertarian history, a major libertarian institution is now being fashioned which combines both superb leadership and administrative ability, solid and unequivocating libertarian theory, necessary financial resources and, perhaps most significantly, overwhelming desire and a strategic vision for the victory of liberty in our time.

This all sounds good in theory, but, you might ask, "what about in practice?" It is the "in practice" side of the equation that has me so confident about the future. Let's look first at the leadership: Cato's president, Edward H. Crane III, hardly needs to be introduced to the libertarian community. He has proven his leadership capabilities during his three-year stint as national chairman of the Libertarian Party. In spite of the success of his truly Herculean efforts at forging a bona-fide national political party, I have a feeling that Crane's administrative abilities are even yet not fully appreciated. I have worked closely with Ed over the past year (Cato and the Center for Libertarian Studies are sister organizations who coordinate their plans and programs so that their efforts do not unnecessarily duplicate one another). During this year of close coordination and consultation, I have never ceased to be impressed with Ed's almost unerring judgment as well as his unwaveringly solid libertarian vision of the nature of the free society and of a strategy to make that vision a reality.

As wise as the choice of Ed Crane as administrator of Cato Institute has been, it is just as important that we mention the man most instrumental in choosing Crane for that position. Cato's chairman of the board is Charles Koch, a shrewd and competent businessman. Like Crane, Koch is a solid and well-read libertarian. In fact, it is a rare libertarian who is as serious a student of the literature of liberty as is Charles Koch. Between them, Crane and Koch bring a wealth of talents which is unparalleled in modern libertarian history.

In addition to the Crane-Koch administrative leadership team, Cato has brought several key leading libertarian theoreticians to San Francisco who will be there to help render advice during Cato's inaugural year.

Murray N. Rothbard, at Cato for eighteen months, is working on an important analysis of the key watershed in American history, the Progressive Era. The framework for this study was laid at a series of lectures delivered at Cornell University during the summer of 1973 under the auspices of the Institute for Humane Studies. Since 1973, however, Professor Rothbard has developed numerous new insights and this work is certain to be one of his most important academic contributions to date.

Leonard P. Liggio has for far too long remained a major but as yet unsung libertarian intellectual. There is virtually nothing Professor Liggio does not know about European and American history, political theory, economics, and social analysis, although his major areas are American Foreign Policy and French intellectual history (especially 18th and 19 centuries). Liggio is to edit a forthcoming academic periodical called *The Literature of Liberty*. *LOL* will be a quarterly interdisciplinary bibliographical journal devoted to abstracting the key journal articles (both past and present) that libertarian scholars will find useful in their own investigation. *LOL* will cover all of the social disciplines: economics, history, philosophy (especially moral and social), law, sociology and others. Each issue of *LOL* will contain an extended annotated bibliography on a key topic in libertarian scholarship. *LOL* is indeed a welcome and much needed research tool. With the multifaceted and widely-read Liggio at the helm, *LOL* will surely be a most important addition to libertarian scholarship.

Williamson M. Evers is editing another new periodical to be published by Cato. *Inquiry* is to be a nationwide biweekly political and news commentary magazine. It will not be a libertarian magazine per se, but it will be a magazine that libertarians should find most interesting. In the genre of *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The Progressive*, *New Times*, etc, its focus will be on current political events with special emphasis on civil liberties and foreign affairs. It will contain "investigative journalistic" articles delving particularly into cozy government/business alliances and relationships. With libertarian theorist Evers as editor-in-chief and with longtime libertarian scholar Ralph Raico as arts and culture editor, *Inquiry* should real-

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ly be worth following closely. I think that popular intellectual journalism is an area into which libertarians must plunge if they are ever to attain the political leverage of which libertarian analyses are worthy.

In addition to the other luminaries at Cato, David Theroux, a proven energetic organizer and recent recipient of a University of Chicago Graduate School of Business MBA degree, has been appointed to be Cato's director of academic affairs. David is administering the Cato Associates Program, the Cato Speakers Bureau, the Study Kits Program and the Book Reprint Series. This exciting project will soon be a nationwide college and university program of study groups, discussion clubs, and speakers-on-campus programs to disseminate the ideas and literature of liberty. In addition, Cato will sponsor Annual Summer Seminars. Twenty-five to fifty students who have demonstrated significant leadership potential and ideological commitment will be invited to spend a week studying, participating in discussions, and listening to lectures by leading libertarians on a wide variety of subjects. The seminar will be interdisciplinary and will also include discussions of strategies for social change. Once again, the Center for Libertarian Studies will be coordinating its efforts very closely with David Theroux and Cato on these programs.

Since Ed Crane took charge in January of this year, the progress of Cato has been just as encouraging as its speed of development has been mind-boggling. In addition to the above mentioned projects—the magazine *Inquiry*, the academic journal *Literature of Liberty*, the speakers bureau and Cato Associates, and Rothbard's projected historical study of the Progressive Era, there are more: Professor Dominic Armentano of the University of Hartford is spending the full term in affiliation with Cato laying the plans for several new research projects he will be pursuing over the next year or two. Professor Walter Block of Rutgers University is at work, under Cato sponsorship, on a new book on urban economics from a free market point of view. Steven Chapman, a freelance investigative journalist, will be working on a study on the history and effects of the Federal Food and Drug Administration. Professor Steven Strasnick of Stanford University is writing a book on libertarian political philosophy for use as a college level text. Peter Ferrara of Harvard Law School, the editor of the Center for Libertarian Studies' newsletter, *In Pursuit of Liberty*, is at work on a study of the history and state of America's Social Security system and a scenario for shifting over to a totally private and competitive retirement industry.

Another very important project is being cosponsored by Cato and the Institute for Policy Studies of Washington, D.C. Professor Earl C. Ravenal of Johns Hopkins University and Michael T. Klare of I.P.S. will organize and conduct a series of eight to ten exploratory Round Table discussions on the implications—economic, political and military—of a non-interventionist American policy, *i.e.*, the implications of military withdrawal from the four corners of the globe. Participants in these discussions will be drawn mostly from defense spending experts, foreign policy strategic analysts, and knowledgable economists, all of whom can provide informed analyses. These exploratory discussions will then, one hopes, lead to a major study of the question.

Yet another project is Cato's Forum. This is a five-minute radio program that will be aired through a nationwide syndication. Over 200 stations are now being approached. The format of the program provides for rotating three articulate proproments of differing ideological points of view: Eugene McCarthy, liberal, Roger MacBride, libertarian; and John Lofton, conservative.

Finally, but not least importantly, Cato is planning to publish a number of quality paperback books that can be used both for widespread popular distribution and for textbook use. The first two of these publications will be reprints of important works: Dominic T. Armentano's *Myths of Antitrust* and Murray N. Rothbard's *For A New Liberty*. Both books have been substantially revised for these second editions.

Five years ago I was an unreconstructed pessimist, ready to go off, find a cave and crawl in. I was absolutely certain that liberty did not have a ghost of a chance for at least the next millenium. The only thing that kept me from slipping away was my deeply held sentiment that, although there was little hope of success, there was something so right, so good, and so just about the struggle itself that it would be tantamount to sacrilege not to carry on. Thanks to the rise of key institutions such as Cato Institute, the Center for Libertarian Studies, the Libertarian Party, *Libertarian Review*, a more active Institute for Humane Studies, Free Life Editions, and a rejuvenated Liberty Fund, and the rapid resurgence of Austrian free market economics, none of us has ever to feel isolated and pessimistic again. True, the byzantine network of statist intervention and aggression continues to wrap its tentacles around mankind and thus impedes the peaceful pursuits of people around the globe. However, the infrastructure of a meaningful movement for the attainment of liberty has been laid. There no longer is a trace of doubt in my mind that if each of us carries his full share of the load, we can look forward to victory for a free society based on private property and the voluntary exchange mechanism of the free market, at least within the borders of the United States, within the lifetime of my children, if not sooner.

Thanks to the rise of institutions such as Cato, none of us need ever feel pessimistic again

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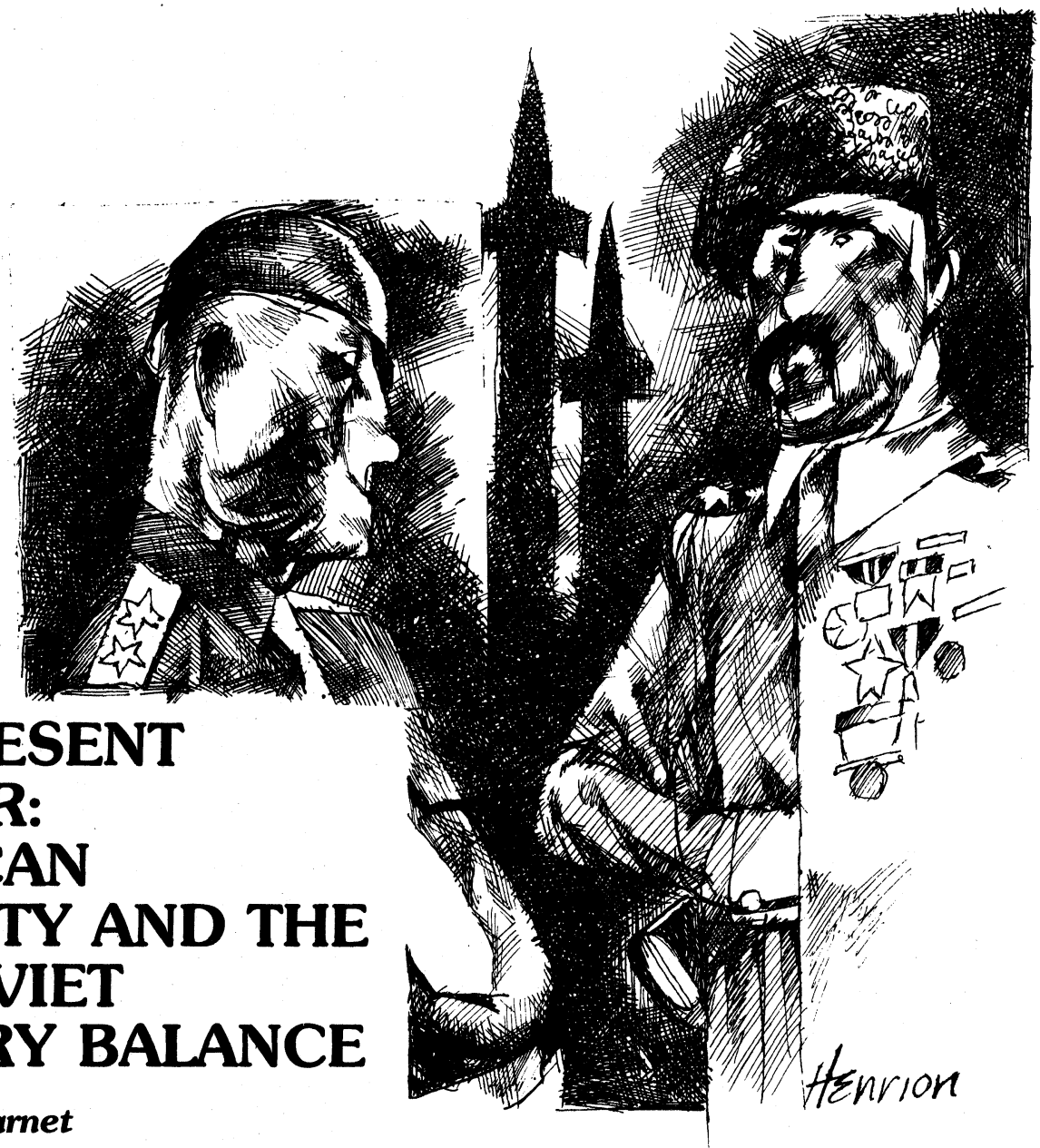

THE PRESENT DANGER: AMERICAN SECURITY AND THE U.S.-SOVIET MILITARY BALANCE

By Richard Barnet

We live in a dangerous world. If anyone were unpersuaded of this truism he need only look about. More than thirty-five nations have or will soon have nuclear weapons. There is a growing awareness of deep and pervasive scarcity, not enough energy, strategic minerals, even air and water at the right place at the right price to assure the stability of the international economic order. Every industrial nation including our own has been caught up in a severe, chronic economic crisis which has brought high unemployment and inflation rates, and has threatened the dream of limitless growth on which our democratic political system is based. Competition over resources and access to markets threatens to exacerbate tensions between the United States and the other industrial nations. This conflict between the resource-consuming nations and the resource-producing nations of the Third World has entered a new and critical stage as the poor countries try to establish a new international economic order to redistribute global wealth and power and the rich countries devise new strategies to resist. Add to this brew the growing practice of monkeywrench politics which expresses itself in random bombings, hijackings, and other efforts by desperate people to show how vulnerable a complex interdependent world economy is to a few strategic acts of terrorism.

There are, in short, enough perils on the horizon to sup-

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port a dozen "Committees on the Present Danger" and to justify the soberest warnings from the CIA. Nations, like individuals, survive when they are able to understand the world in which they live, to perceive its dangers, and to try to minimize them or prepare against them. When they misperceive dangers, erecting old-fashioned defenses against the perils of the past, they invite their own extinction.

THE NEW SOVIET "THREAT"

The revival of the Soviet military threat, the biggest scare campaign of defense issues since the fictitious "bomber gap" of the 1950's and the fictitious "missile gap" of the 1960's, is the latest example of "Maginot line" thinking from our professional hawks. The notion that the leaders of the Kremlin have a master plan to fight and win a nuclear war, which is the latest of many such claims of this group, flies in the face of a mountain of evidence, military, economic, and psychological. The hawks' prescription for dealing with the mad adversary they posit—to escalate the arms race to a new and more terrible stage—makes no sense whatever. If they believe what they say, that the Soviet Union is undeterred by the more than 9,000 nuclear weapons in the American arsenal, each of which is several times the destructive power of the bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they fail to say why 9,000 more or 90,000 more should make a difference.

The claim that the Soviets are seeking "strategic superiority" and that they are planning to fight and to win a nuclear war with the United States is based on several bits of evidence which on first hearing sound somewhat alarming, but which turn out to be as flimsy a basis for prophesying the future as the chicken entrails which the soothsayers used to scare the people of Rome.

In his alarmist article, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks it Could Fight and Win a Nuclear War" (*Commentary*, July 1977) Richard Pipes, a Harvard history professor who in recent years has become a leading soothsayer, quotes scraps from Soviet military journals, treatises, and speeches by Soviet generals and concludes on the basis of these that the Soviets are no longer deterred from starting a nuclear war.

"As long as the Soviets persist in the Clausewitzian maxim on the function of war," Pipes tells us, "mutual deterrence does not really exist." It is naive, he suggests, for well-meaning Americans to assume that the Soviet have the same benign attitudes we do about nuclear war. The famous statement of Karl Von Clausewitz, the author of *On War*, that "war is the continuation of politics by other means" is interpreted by Pipes to mean that the Soviets will not hesitate to use war to achieve their political goals.

The Soviet interpretation of the connection between war and politics is summarized in Marxism-Leninism *On War and the Army*, (5th edition 1972) a publication of top Soviet military officers and their version of defense intellectuals: "Politics will determine when the armed struggle is to be started and what means are to be employed. Nuclear war cannot emerge from nowhere, out of a vacuum, by itself." In Soviet theory, it will emerge, as Pipes himself admits, *from an attack by the West.* (The Soviets say that they will never launch a first strike, only a "pre-emptive strike" if they are convinced that the enemy's missiles have already been launched. The United States, it should be noted, has consistently refused to sign any pledge not to start a nuclear war.) Pipes quotes some unnamed strategists who denounce the idea that nuclear war is a suicide pact for both sides as a piece of "bourgeois pacifism," and quotes some military journals that talk about "winning" in a nuclear exchange.

Pipes does not quote such unequivocal statements by Soviet political leaders as Brezhnev's statement at the 30th Anniversary Celebration of the Great Patriotic War Victory that "the starting of a nuclear missile war would spell inevitable annihilation for the aggressor himself, to say nothing of the vast losses for many other countries . . ." Nor does he quote Soviet Marshal Sokolovsky, one of his favorites, when he explicitly dismisses the notion of a successful first strike. "There can be no counting on the complete destruction of the enemy's strategic weapons." He prefers to focus attention on such bloodcurdling Soviet military maxims as "War must not simply be the defeat of the enemy, it must be his destruction."

One can read into such statements what one wishes. A Soviet soothsayer studying the enormous outpouring from the Pentagon and U.S. military journals could put together a far scarier case about U.S. strategy and intentions. How would a Soviet planner react to this extract from the Department of Defense's FY 1978 Report to the Congress:

> The present planning objective of the Defense Department is clear. We believe that a substantial number of military forces and critical industries in the Soviet Union should be directly targeted, and that an important objective of the assured retaliatory mission should be to retard significantly the ability of the U.S.S.R. to recover from a nuclear exchange and regain the status of a 20th Century military and industrial power more rapidly than the United States.

In reality, we have the same schizophrenic discussions about nuclear war here as Pipes has detected in the U.S.S.R. On the political level leaders on both sides are realistic enough to know that nuclear war would be the *end* of politics, not its continuation by another means. At the same time the deterrence system is sustained by huge bureaucracies which are paid a substantial share of the national treasure to think about winning nuclear war, planning for it, making it credible by pretending that it is a real political option. No Soviet general, any more than his U.S. counterpart, is going to talk in print about losing. Military minds are atavistic. Absurd as it

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is in the nuclear age, they continue to echo General MacArthur: There is no substitute for victory.

THE SOVIETS' CONCERN

Professor Pipes and his colleagues who put together the so-called B-Team Report of the Central Intelligence Agency last fall do not rely entirely on scraps from Soviet writings. Their argument depends upon making selected historical leaps. Since the Soviets in fact suffered more than twenty million casualties in World War II, he claims they will willingly accept that number or even more in order to run the radioactive world they will inherit after they destroy the United States. This of course is a shocking and irresponsible argument. The Soviet Union did not start the war with Germany and their leaders did not know at the outset that they would suffer casualties on such a scale. No matter what one might think of Brezhnev's morals or his politics, it is self-defeating for Americans not to look at who the Soviet leaders really are, what they have done, and what they really believe. We have sixty years of experience in coexistence with the Soviet Union. We do not need a professorial construct based on nothing more than intense hatred of the Soviet system. We would do better to consider the analysis of the Soviet leadership offered by former CIA Director William Colby to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

> You will find a concern, even a paranoia, over their (the Soviets') own security. You will find the determination that they shall never again be invaded and put through the kinds of turmoil that they have been under and many different invasions . . . I think that they . . . want to overprotect themselves to make certain that that does not happen, and they are less concerned about the image that that presents to their neighbors, thinking that their motives are really defensive and pure and therefore other people should not be suspicious of them.

We could try, as our most famous expert on the Soviet Union, George Kennan, advises, to put ourselves in the position of Soviet leaders and look at reality from their peculiar perch. "The overwhelming weight of evidence," Kennan concludes, "indicates that there has never been a time since the aftermath of the recent war when the main concerns of Soviet leadership have not been ones related to the internal problems that face them: first the preservation of the security of their own rule within the country, and, secondly, the development of the economic strength of a country which, although considerably greater than the United States in area and population, has only roughly one half of the latter's gross national product."

The Soviet leadership is experiencing the enormous difficulties of a frozen revolution: unwieldy, inefficient bureaucracies, what Kennan calls "the general indifference, among the population, towards the ideological pretensions of the regime, and the curious sort of boredom and spiritlessness that overcome so much of Soviet society," and the problem of impending minority rule. (The Russians who control the Soviet state are, so it seems, about to be outnumbered by the Ukrainians, Uzbeks, and numerous other national minorities who may soon constitute a majority of the Soviet population.) In governing a population for which the horrors of the Second World War are still alive and for which martial glory beyond the defense of the Motherland holds no allure, war is not a satisfactory means of politics.

THE CHINESE THREAT

Then, too, Soviet leaders must look at external reality. Whatever nonsense their generals may write—and none of Pipes' kremlinological snippets are quite as demented as he makes them out to be—they operate under some constraints in carrying out their master plan. One of them is the Chinese army, which is enough of a worry to require the stationing of close to a million Soviet troops on the frontier. (A good deal of the rise in the Soviet military budget and civil defense preparations, which the alarmists say is a challenge to the U.S., is more likely related to the Chinese peril as seen in Moscow. A two-front war is a traditional Russian nightmare.)

Another constraint is the explosive situation in Eastern Europe and parts of the Soviet Union itself. One historical episode Professor Pipes omits is the mass defection in the Ukraine and elsewhere to the Germans during World War II. The leaders in the Kremlin are not naive enough to believe that the Poles and the Czechs, or the Ukrainians and the Uzbeks, for that matter, will fight enthusiastically among the radioactive rubble for the Kremlin's bid for world domination. Finally, Brezhnev or his successor faces the reality of nuclear war itself.

About fifteen years ago the Department of Defense concluded that if 100 nuclear warheads landed on the Soviet Union, 37 million people or 15 percent of the population would die instantly and 59 percent of the industrial capacity would be destroyed. If 300 such warheads were to land on target, 96 million people would die and 77 percent of the industrial capacity would be destroyed. There are now 9,000 nuclear warheads that can land on Soviet territory. Even if all U.S. land-based missiles are destroyed in a Soviet surprise attack, there are enough nuclear warheads on U.S. submarines, which are still extremely hard to locate and to destroy, to make the rubble in every Soviet city bounce. The Soviet leaders, if they are rational, know this. They also know that there are so many uncertainties connected with nuclear war that they can never be sure that they have limited the retaliatory damage to "acceptable" limits. As McGeorge Bundy, a former presidential advisor who lived through the threat of nuclear confrontation during the Cuban missile crisis, puts it:

> In a real world of real political leaders—whether here or in the

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Soviet Union—a decision that would bring even one hydrogen bomb on one city of one's own country would be recognized in advance as a catastrophic blunder; ten bombs on ten cities would be a disaster beyond history; and a hundred bombs on one hundred cities are unthinkable.

If the Soviet leaders are irrational, as some of our hawks come close to asserting, then deterrence cannot work whatever the size of the respective nuclear arsenals.

The soothsayers from the Committee on the Present Danger, do not talk much about the real world of politics. Their stock-in-trade consists of nightmare scenarios which they construct in a variety of ways.

One is to talk of secret weapons, such as laser beams that could destroy all the incoming U.S. missiles and leave the U.S. naked to a free attack. No doubt Soviet scientists are working on lasers, as is the Pentagon, but, as Secretary of Defense Harold Brown puts it, "the laws of physics are the same in the United States and the Soviet Union." A laser-operated ABM system would be even more complicated than the system that was abandoned by both sides in 1972 because it was so unreliable. Not only must the Soviets develop the laser, or whatever Soviet secret weapon *Aviation Week* is selling at the moment, but they must test it to such a point that they have high confidence that it will in fact disarm the enemy in a successful first strike. That testing cannot be done in secret.

SOVIET DEFENSE BUDGETS

Then there is the matter of military budgets. Some of the soothsayers have seized on the CIA's recent estimates that Soviet military spending consumes 11 to 13 percent of their GNP instead of 6 to 8 percent as previously estimated as proof of a big Soviet buildup to achieve a "war-winning capability." But, as the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London concludes, "90 per cent of the difference between the new and the old cost assessments stems from a changed view of the Soviet defense industries, which appear to be less efficient than had been imagined." Since the Soviet defense industries are *less efficient* than we had formerly thought, our estimates of *spending* necessary to sustain existing capacities has naturally increased, but that does not reflect a proportional buildup of Soviet *military forces* themselves. The two things are entirely different.

The whole argument about defense spending and GNP really underscores Soviet weakness, not strength. Since their GNP is half the U.S. GNP, it would not be surprising if they spent twice the *share* just to keep up in the arms race. But in fact the whole discussion has a mad quality about it since the method of calculating Soviet expenditures is bizarre, to say the least. The intelligence agencies examine the Soviet military machine and calculate what the U.S. would have to spend to buy the Soviet Army, Navy, and Air Force, paying them American wages instead of a ruble a week. As Congressman Les Aspin, a former Pentagon analyst points out, "If the United States were to shave its military pay scales, Soviet defense 'spending' would fall."

The "civil defense" gap is another nightmare about which we hear a great deal, especially when the Pentagon is about to request appropriations. General Daniel Graham, former Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency gave a Congressional committee this version:

The Soviets evacuate their cities and "hunker" down. Then they

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER

The Committee on the Present Danger was founded in November 1976 by a group of private citizens—many with close links to government posts—concerned with a new Soviet "threat," and with what they perceive as inadequate military spending. In the policy statement of the Committee, they write:

> The principal threat to our nation, to world peace, and to the cause of human freedom is the Soviet drive for dominance based upon an unparalleled military buildup.
>
> The Soviet Union has not altered its long-held goal of a world dominated from a single center—Moscow. It continues, with notable persistence, to take advantage of every opportunity to expand its political and military influence throughout the world: in Europe, in the Middle East and Africa; even in Latin America; in all the seas.
>
> The scope and sophistication of the Soviet campaign have been increased in recent years, and its tempo quickened....

From this base, a reformulation of the basic ideology of the Cold War, the Committee on the Present Danger calls for more military spending in the U.S., development of new weapons systems, and a more aggressive American foreign policy designed to counter this "threat."

The Board of Directors of the Committee on the Present Danger consists of such recycled Cold Warriors as Dean Rusk, Edward Teller, General Maxwell Taylor, Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, Clare Boothe Luce, William Colby, John Connally, John P. Roche, and Richard Whalen. The Chairman of its Executive Committee is Eugene Rostow; the Chairman of Policy Studies, Paul H. Nitze, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, who has been involved in nearly every attempt to increase the defense budget since 1949. Richard Pipes, the author of "Why the Soviet Union Thinks it Could Fight and Win a Nuclear War," in the July 1977 issue of *Commentary* magazine, is also on its Executive Committee. Several prominent Committee members were key figures in President Ford's "Team B", which warned of imminent Soviet military superiority over the United States.

The Committee on the Present Danger, along with such magazines as *Commentary*—many of whose contributors are part of the Committee—is one of the most prominent organizations in the United States today concerned to oppose any move toward "isolationism" and away from an interventionist foreign policy.

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move against NATO, or Yugoslavia, or China, or the Middle East with superior conventional forces. The United States is faced with the demand to stay out or risk nuclear exchange in which 100 million Americans will die, as opposed to 10 million Russians.

The evidence for a feverish Soviet civil defense program comes from unclassified Soviet manuals which describe a vast shelter program, evacuation exercises, and other forms of civil defense. But, as Congressman Aspin argues, the "rumblings of bureaucrats don't amount to effective protection." You can find U.S. manuals that also give a euphoric picture of the "post-attack environment." (Indeed, many of the Soviet manuals turn out to be translations of U.S. manuals.) At the height of the last bomb shelter scare in 1961, Edward Teller, one of our distinguished scientists, wrote an article in *Life* magazine making the absurd claim that, "99 percent could be saved." I recall a manual from the United States Employment Service from that era entitled, if I remember correctly, "How to Find a Job in the Post-Attack Environment." On the cover was a friendly bureaucrat behind a desk. The applicant was filling out a form. In the background, a mushroom cloud was just beginning to disperse.

CIVIL DEFENSE

In reality, the Soviet Union has as great a problem saving its population in a nuclear war as the United States, and perhaps a greater one. In both countries about 40 percent of the population is concentrated in ten cities but the *area* of the Soviet cities is about half that of the U.S. cities and makes an easier target. Thus while the Soviet government has been trying to disperse its population and industry since the 1930's for economic and political reasons, its population is actually more concentrated than that of the United States. A fallout shelter program must be able to protect the population not just for a few hours but for thirty days or more. In the early 1960's the U.S. Office of Civil Defense calculated that it would take up to 20 percent of the adult population of the U.S. to run a program of that magnitude. There is no evidence that a program on such a scale exists in the Soviet Union. Roads are poor in many parts of the Soviet Union, and the U.S.S.R.'s harsh weather would preclude mass evacuation. Industry is heavily concentrated—60 percent of all steel is made in twenty-five plants. Nine tractor plants account for 80 percent of the Soviet output. In short civil defense might reduce casualties in a war with a minor nuclear power such as China, but it could never provide assurance to Soviet leaders that they could protect any significant segment of their population from the sort of attack the U.S. could launch even under the most unfavorable circumstances. (In the "worst-case scenario" described in T.K. Jones's *Industrial Survivors and Recovery after Nuclear Attack*, one of the bibles of the civil defense scare campaign, the U.S. after a devastating Soviet first strike would still have enough missiles to blast every major Soviet city twelve times.)

There is no doubt that the Soviets are building up their forces, modernizing them, and imitating American technology where possible. In the "missile gap" era, the last time we heard from the soothsayers in force, the U.S. was actually running the arms race with itself, but now there are two contenders. The buildup raises two questions: Why are they doing it? What should we do about it?

The most plausible reason the Soviets are building up is that the United States has always been ahead in military and strategic power and continues to amass nuclear weapons at a rate of about three a day. Then too the growing perception of the Chinese threat has prompted the strengthening of conventional forces. Modernization of the Warsaw Pact forces has been in part a response to the rise of a formidable German army, in part a reflection of the impulse to field a force "second to none" in the arena where they might have a slight edge over the West.

What do we do about an arms race that will soon cost us $150 billion a year, even more in relative terms for the Soviet Union, and which is producing not a safer "military balance" but the most dangerous international climate since the dawn of the nuclear age? That the present degree of public concern concerning the Soviet threat could be so easily created on the basis of Kremlinological entrails, a little P.R. money, and the worried looks of retired generals demonstrates how insubstantial the whole notion of "military balance" is. Being "ahead" or "behind" in this weapons system has no traditional military significance. It is purely a psychological concept. If we believe that accumulating the equivalent of several hundred million tons of TNT to drop on the Soviet Union is not enough, then it is not enough. And if we think that it is not enough, that will guarantee that the Soviets will consider their own arsenal inadequate. The arms race has long since passed the point where additional weapons could change the outcome of a war with the Soviet Union in any significant way. Neither our arms nor their arms can conquer or defend. All they can do is inspire feelings and convey intentions. The national insecurity that can be so easily fanned by a "Committee on the Present Danger" cannot be cured by 9,000 more bombs. It has very little to do with what the Russians are actually doing.

THE ARMS RACE AND THE FUTURE

The roots are much deeper. The insecurity of the world's most powerful nation flows from our failure to make the leap into the second half of the twentieth century and to acquire the consciousness essential for survival in the nuclear age. An international system in which we measure our safety by how many tons of destruction we can visit on an enemy who has no rational motive to go to war with us invites

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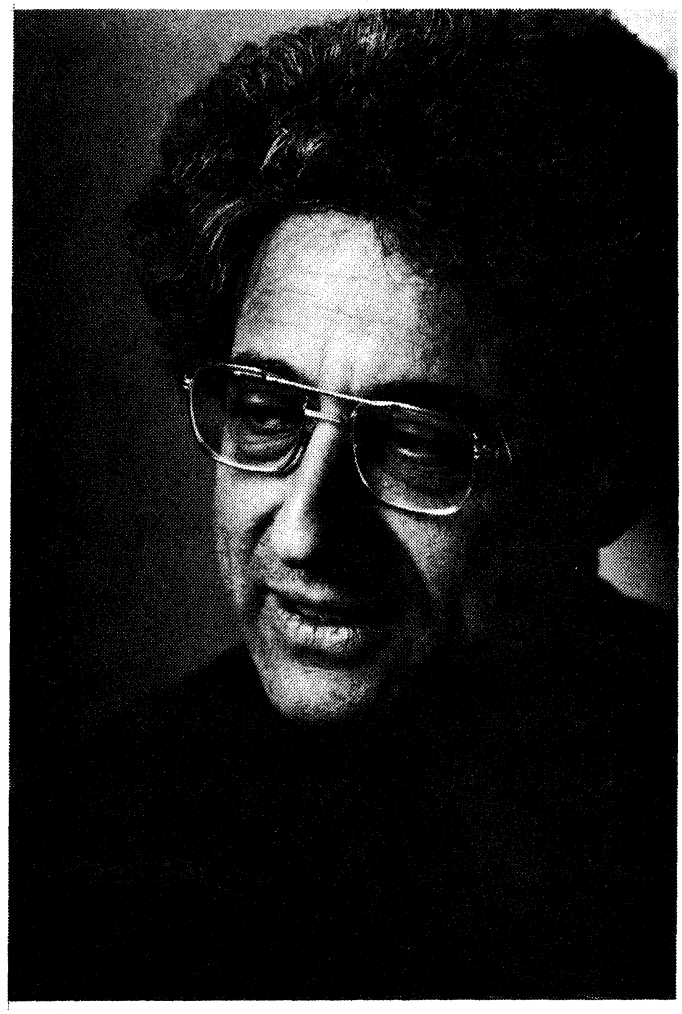
periodic return engagements from the soothsayers of the "Committee on the Present Danger" and *Commentary* magazine. If we are going to run an arms race, they are an inevitable part of the act.

As money grows shorter, the absurdities of the arms race become clearer, the voice of the soothsayer becomes more shrill. It is more than coincidence that the revival of the Soviet threat comes at the moment when several major new weapons systems which have been waiting in the wings during the long years of the IndoChina War are ripe for Congressional action and require the patriotic support of large numbers of worried Americans.

If the Russians had a master plan to destroy the United States, it would be to encourage us to spend ourselves into an ever deeper fiscal crisis by building more irrelevant hardware—that can't hurt them any more than they can be hurt already—and to hire some group like the Committee on the Present Danger to go around the country casting doubt on the U.S. deterrent, spreading doom, demoralizing the population, and diverting attention from initiatives that could actually strenghen us and make us safer. I am not suggesting that the Soviets are either that intelligent or diabolical and I am certainly not suggesting that Messrs. Pipes, Nitze, Graham, etc., are acting out of any motives other than the sincerest belief that they are the Paul Reveres of their generation. But the impact of war hysteria in 1977 is a good deal more serious than it was when some of these same tired soothsayers were reading 1960's entrails.

To begin with, during the last performance of "The Russians are Coming," things weren't so dangerous. Pax Americana, which lasted through the whole postwar period until the early 1970's, for all its errors and injustices, made for a relatively stable world. The U.S. was in control of the international system to a remarkable degree. That is not the case today. The Soviet Union is a contender in the arms race today in a way it was not then. There are one hundred fifty supposedly sovereign nations, many with power to create enormous instability. In place of the illusion of infinite wealth and infinite growth which provided the momentum for the American prosperity, there is a sense of scarcity and with it a host of political conflicts, between nations and within nations, which did not exist in what turns out to have been the remarkably orderly postwar world. In the so-called "bipolar" world (which was really a unipolar world) the arms race was a ritualistic dance all participants could afford. Today it is different. The arms race, for various technical reasons, is about to enter a new and much more unstable phase. The cruise missile, the satellite destroyer, the more accurate warhead, all throw off the calculations of "military balance" on which planners on both sides base their defense and encourage both to devise "pre-emptive strategies" to forestall the disarming attack. Above all, the new weapons developments on both sides are evidence of hostile intention which increase the chances of war by miscalculation. The military environment will test the nerves of leaders more than in the past, and given our own recent history, that is not particularly reassuring.

The Committee on the Present Danger is right to be concerned for the future. But the problem is not the Soviet war machine and the solution is not to build a bigger American war machine. The problem is the war machine in both countries, the mindless bureaucratic process in which danger is the advertising slogan and is also the product. The solution for the United States is to stop racing, to stop basing our foreign policy on intimidating others, and to refuse to be intimidated ourselves, whether by propagandists from Moscow, should they ever be so foolish, or by our own soothsayers who were born a generation too late.



Diana H. Walker

Richard J. Barnet served as an official of the State Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and as a consultant to the Department of Defense. Co-Founder and Co-Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, he is the author of several books and articles on foreign policy issues, including Intervention and Revolution and *Roots of War.* His latest book, *The Giants: United States and Russia,* has just been published by Simon and Schuster.

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LIBERTARIANISM AND THE MEDIA:

Why You Don't Hear More Often About Libertarians and Libertarianism on the News

By Jeff Riggenbach

There is much to be said in favour of modern journalism. By giving us the opinions of the uneducated, it keeps us in touch with the ignorance of the community. By carefully chronicling the current events of contemporary life, it shows us of what very little importance such events really are. By invariably discussing the unnecessary, it makes us understand what things are requisite for culture, and what are not.

Oscar Wilde, "The Critic as Artist," 1890.

Early this year, in my capacity as a reporter, I attended the concluding banquet of the California Libertarian Party convention at the Airport Marina Hotel in Los Angeles. Mental health was much in the news at the time, with newly ascended First Lady Rosalynn Carter naming it as one of the fields she wanted to work in during Jimmy's term(s) in office, and with civil libertarians decrying patient abuse at California state mental hospitals (Governor Brown had explained that the problem was understaffing and the solution was either more money or more volunteers). Thomas Szasz was speaking at the banquet that night, and I arrived with tape recorder and cassettes in hand, hoping to broadcast some common sense on the mental health crisis to the million or so Southern Californians who would be listening to KFWB the following morning.

I needn't have bothered about the tape recorder and the cassettes.

There was one other reporter on hand that evening—a fellow named Jerry Goldberg, who freelances for a number of L.A. area newspapers, mostly weeklies. Judging from the paper in my neighborhood which carries his stuff, he didn't get anything either. But at least he showed up. Before the banquet, the convention manager told me the party had staged a news conference the day before in the afternoon—Saturday—and no one—*no one*—had shown up.

A few weeks after the convention, California Libertarian Alliance, one of the oldest libertarian organizations on the West Coast (which is, in turn, one of the most libertarian-infested parts of the country) co-sponsored a conference on "The Future of Freedom" at the University of Southern California. The conference featured a typical array of movement superstars—Hospers, Branden, etc.—as well as a Soviet dissident and a debate between Tom Hayden and David Friedman. A day or two before the conference, one of the organizers—a libertarian who's held a few relatively unimportant media jobs himself in the past few years—phoned me to ask if I'd check to see if any use was going to be made of the material he'd sent ten days or so before to two other members of the KFWB staff. I told him what, as a former reporter and news secretary, he should have known already: that any member of any news organization is powerless to do anything about the discretionary use or non-use of any information by any other member of his organization, and is disinclined even to offer suggestions to his colleagues if those suggestions look like special pleading for one of his

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own enthusiasms. It's the *publicist's* job to follow up his own releases—and to send those releases in the right form to the right people in the first place.

A GOOD PUBLICIST

But libertarian publicists, in the two examples I've mentioned and in all but a few of the other examples I've witnessed in my own years in the news business, don't do their jobs. And if it sometimes appears, by the paucity of libertarian sayings and doings on the news, as though the only way libertarians can get their ideas on the air is the way John Galt did it in Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*—by seizing the airwaves—*that* is the reason.

A good publicist is good first and foremost by knowing his media—not, as one spokesman for the Libertarian Party seems to think, if one may judge from his remarks in a recent issue of *Reason*, by producing "professional, attractive, promotional material". Knowing his media is knowing what kinds of things are published or broadcast in what forms by whom. A good publicist reads the periodicals, listens to the radio stations and watches the TV stations he wants to hit up for publicity. He makes it his business to know which individual writers, editors, reporters, columnists and critics are most receptive to the ideas and events he's publicizing. But the publicist who contacted KFWB about the libertarian conference obviously didn't bother to listen to KFWB. If he had, he'd have known better than to send one of his two packets of informative material to the station's public service director. Anyone who's had many dealings with radio public service directors knows that they generally look upon events which cost fifteen to twenty dollars a head admission as

CBS executive: "You can't sell newspapers to people who don't read"

commercial activities. Non-commercial, non-profit activities, the kind which constitute "public services," are, in the minds of radio public service directors, *ipso facto*, free (or very inexpensive; say, two or three dollars)—unless, of course, the proceeds are going to a "worthy cause," in which case, the higher the tab the better. One public service director in a hundred might consider publicizing something like the C.L.A. Conference—and the public service director who does is likely to be a closet libertarian. Radio publicity for a conference of that kind is much more likely to come from the news department.

If the conference publicist had listened to KFWB, he'd have known better than to send his second packet of informative material to the particular member of the news department he chose. He chose a reporter who only last fall, a week or two before the election, had filed a series of reports on the phenomenon of non-voting, attributing it entirely to "apathy". This reporter was aware of the League of Non-Voters and the "None of the Above" Movement, and she was aware that shortly before her own reports were broadcast, *Time* magazine had published a brief discussion of the same subject, mentioning several prominent Los Angeles area principled non-voters by name. If there is, as I think there is, an intimate connection between the thinking behind principled non-voting and the thinking behind libertarianism, then a reporter who would choose to disregard principled non-voting in preparing her reports on "why doesn't everyone vote?" is, I submit, an unlikely choice as a source of publicity for a libertarian conference.

On the other hand, there are also at KFWB a number of libertarians, a number of libertarian sympathizers and a number of open-minded types who consider libertarianism a legitimate position on particular issues. There are such persons at many large news organizations—*they*, needless as it may seem to say such an obvious thing—*they* are the journalists to whom information about libertarian conferences should be sent—*not* their indifferent or contemptuous colleagues.

Who these sympathetic journalists are is one of the first things a serious libertarian publicist must make it his business to learn. And having learned it, he must then make it his business to send his sympathizers material they can use. It is useless, for example, to schedule a news conference on Saturday afternoon, because Saturday afternoon is a time when most news organizations are operating with skeletal staffs—half a dozen people, maybe; only one of them a field reporter and him assigned to stay inside for the day and work the telephones. You can cover police stories, natural disasters like forest fires and earthquakes, and much political news, on the telephone, but you can't attend a news conference on the telephone. A good publicist makes it his business to know what times of day and week the news organizations he wants to hit up for publicity are fielding the most reporters, are most actively on the lookout for news. He not only bothers to send his material to sympathetic journalists; he also invites them to news conferences and rallies and demonstrations at times when they're most likely to come. And when he sends his invitations, he makes use of what he knows (and takes the trouble to find out what he doesn't know) about the processes by which reporters are assigned to stories. Are they assigned at paper "X" by an assignments editor? Make sure he gets a copy of the release. Are they assigned at radio station "Y" by the news director? Make sure *he* gets one. Are they given free time after their assignments at TV station "Z" so they can work on their own projects? Make sure all sympathetic *reporters* at that station

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are *individually* notified. Sending notification of a news conference to an anchorman or a feature reporter, even if he's sympathetic, is like sending review copies of books to a film critic or a stock market analyst. It's a bad job of publicity.

WHAT THE MEDIA DOES

But it isn't only at publicity that libertarians usually fall down; it's also at the related job of understanding what is and is not "news". And, again, to know "news" from "public service" and "feature" material, the publicist must *know his media.* Specifically, he must have an at least reasonably accurate general concept of what a news medium does for whom and why.

In the remarks that follow, I'm going to confine myself primarily to radio, the news medium in which I have worked for eleven years and which I know best, and only secondarily to newspapers, a medium to which I have contributed for years as a reviewer and commentator but which I do not know intimately. I will have nothing to say of television as a news medium (though I will have something to say about its role as a source of entertainment) because I have never worked in it, seldom watch it, and therefore know nothing about it. I will base much of my analysis of news media in general on the situation which exists presently in greater Los Angeles, both because greater Los Angeles is the news market I know best and because it is typical, in the respects relevant to this discussion, of large North American urban areas.

As of 1975, there were about 8.5 million potential readers and listeners in the market for news in greater Los Angeles—and that's a conservative estimate. About ninety percent—7.8 million of them—were listening to the radio. Better than two million—about twenty-five percent—were listening to one or both of the all-news radio stations—KFWB and KNX. About the same number of persons—representing about the same percentage of the population—were buying a newspaper, one of the twenty-four available. A little more than a million of those were reading the *Los Angeles Times*—about as many as were listening to each of the all-news radio stations.

Since 1945, radio news has been steadily adding listeners, while newspapers have been steadily losing readers. In 1945, 41.5 percent of the people in greater Los Angeles were reading a newspaper—more than 1½ times the present figure. That fell to 30.5 percent in 1955, to 29 percent in 1965 and to 26 percent in 1975. In 1945 there were fewer than twenty radio stations in greater Los Angeles. That swelled to thirty-nine in 1955, to sixty-five in 1965, and to seventy-eight in 1975—two of them devoted entirely to news. And the main reason for these trends—away from reading and toward listening—is that fewer and fewer people are learning to read.

THE DECLINE OF LITERACY

The decline of literacy is itself attributable to a number of cultural forces, chief among them, I suspect, television. Children who enjoy reading still learn to read, of course, and also watch television, until, inevitably, if they master reading so that it is as effortless for them as watching, they begin to realize that TV almost never brings them as intense or as lasting a satisfaction as books. Thereafter, they watch less and less and read more and more. But children who do not greatly enjoy reading and who used to acquire the skill anyway, because it was necessary to obtain artistic satisfaction, escape, entertainment, call it what you will—no longer bother to do so. They now have TV to watch, a source of entertainment available to non-readers as well as readers. If they seek greater artistic sophistication than television customarily offers, they'll find film directors to satisfy them. And in this age of beautiful recorded sound and cheap sound equipment, even the visually inattentive need not be without entertainment or artistic satisfaction of a high order, again with no necessity of learning to read. *It is no longer necessary to learn to read to enjoy art.* And millions of children therefore no longer choose to acquire what is, after all, the most demanding skill anyone ever acquires, the skill almost no one ever completely masters.

Most news is useless, though entertaining for its gossip value

In Los Angeles, as of 1974, more than half the graduating high school seniors were unable to read above the third grade level. A year or two later the city school board decided, beginning in 1978, to require for high school graduation a passing grade on a basic literacy test—to make sure the high school graduates could read job applications and soup can labels. They decided not to begin requiring the test until 1978, on the grounds it would be unfair to those then about to graduate—*they* might not be able to pass it. As Gene Fuson, the editorial director for CBS television in Los Angeles, puts it, "You can't sell parkas in the Sahara. You can't sell ice to Eskimos. And you can't sell newspapers to people who can't read."

Fuson blames the decline of literacy, in an article of his on which I've drawn heavily in the past few paragraphs for my statistics, on the public educational system. But I think this is a naive view of the matter. I think it assumes much too integral a role for teachers and institutions in the learning process. Each person learns what he wants to learn. All any

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teacher can do is answer those of his students' questions which, answered, enable them to answer further questions for themselves. He can also, of course, try to persuade his students as to the value of knowledge they have not yet chosen to learn. But in the end, each person also chooses of what and by whom he will be persuaded.

Very little learning of any kind goes on in the public schools, which are in reality not schools at all but compounds, day-compounds in which parents may leave their offspring to be shown the practical social value of conformity and mediocrity. A few of the guards are talented, would-be educators, of course, and each of us who has encountered one or more of them has profited thereby, as one may profit only by a good teacher. By and large, though, a person who learns to read while serving time in the public schools learns it on his own because he wants to. The schools provide only the books, and intermittently, some guidance and corrective criticism. A person who does not learn to read while serving time in the public schools does not do so because he hasn't the will; surrounding him with books and jailers won't change that.

The child without a will to read is, I am convinced, one who sees no need of it in his pursuit of entertainment. Children do not begin to read for information; they learn to do that only much later. As children, they may most easily obtain the kind of information adults read to get—how does it work? what happened?, etc.—by asking adults. *They* know nearly everything. What adults *can't* do as inexhaustibly as four, five and six year old children would like is make up stories and poems to amuse them. To keep up the supply of those in the pre-television era, one had to learn to read. Now, as I have said, it is otherwise.

And, as I have also said, the all-news radio station has begun to replace the newspaper for new generations who read lamely and with much unpleasant effort when at all. An all-news radio station does everything a newspaper does, a little more briefly and a little more superficially. KFWB, the all news radio station at which I work, employs a film critic, a book critic, a stock market analyst, four sports reporters, several columnists, an editorial writer, a medical reporter and a religion reporter, several commentators, as well as the usual newswriters and anchormen—as one critic of the station once put it, "a cast of thousands." Everything you'll find in a newspaper, you'll hear on KFWB, except the funnies—and we do have a morning feature reporter who tries for laughs. With KFWB on their radios, the illiterate of greater Los Angeles need not miss newspapers. But not only does the station serve as a source of news for the illiterate and semi-literate—it also serves, inevitably, as a source of employment for them.

Because, of course, the same "schools", so called, which are turning out listeners are also turning out the broadcast journalists of tomorrow. I have seen young newswriters with masters degrees from UCLA write sentences like "The problems confronting ghetto residents have recently become tantamount." I have seen a younger college graduate write the sentence "Governor Brown has accused the Public Utilities Commission of perversion," when in fact what the Governor said was that a particular P.U.C. ruling was *perverse*. For that matter, so far have standards fallen, that I have seen older journalists of considerable experience write that Senator Alan Robbins has "equated" Mayor Bradley and Adolf Hitler, when what Robbins had done was declare that the two men's political records resembled each other in certain ways—that is, he *compared* them. I may seem pedantic, bringing up such examples; I may seem a poor man's Edwin Newman. Neither is my intention. For while the sorts of errors Newman and I cite are common in the speech and writing of non-writers, it has only become common and, to an extent, professionally acceptable, in the writing of professional users of words for a generation or two. When a professional writer does not know and does not bother to learn the exact meanings of the words he uses, he makes himself comparable to a plumber who does not know or bother to learn the exact uses of the tools he carries, but wields whichever ones look roughly "right" to him as he blunders ahead.

Political upheavals take place in summer, to pep up lagging TV program schedules

Such professional writers are increasingly common, not only in Los Angeles, but in New York, Boston, Washington D.C., Chicago—in all the major North American cities—and in all those cities the replacement of newspapers by all-news radio is proceeding as I have described it as well.

But the inadequacies of the younger journalists who cover the news for these stations extends beyond their ineptitude with language to their ways of gathering, verifying and describing what they call "news."

USELESS NEWS

At this point, since my vilification of my colleagues in broadcast journalism is about to gather momentum, I should pause to emphasize what has perhaps not been clear so far. I like journalism—by which I mean, roughly, the gathering, with attention to accuracy, and the presentation, with atten-

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tion to style, of useful information which is in some sense "new". I take pride in doing a good job of journalism, both in my specialty, which is book reviewing, and in general. I take pride in the organization I work for, because I believe it has concentrated more genuine journalistic ability and less journalistic incompetence in one news staff than I have encountered elsewhere. Still, I am incurably realistic. And I see no reason not to be a perfectionist in my criticism of my colleagues, because I see no reason to evaluate their efforts by a standard different from the one by which I evaluate my own.

"To a philosopher," Henry David Thoreau wrote in 1854, "all *news*, as it is called, is gossip, and they who edit and read it are old women over their tea." Gossip, according to the Oxford English Dictionary is "the conversation of a newsmonger"; it is "idle talk," which means useless talk, talk for talk's sake. But who does not enjoy just such unavailing, unimportant talk, "trivia," as it has come to be called these days, when it touches upon one or more of his prejudices? A few purely utilitarian souls, perhaps. And it is for them, doubtless, that journalists retain an admixture, however slight, of useful information in their news product: the time and temperature; the closing stock market figures; the locations of traffic tie-ups; the changes in law, both as made by judges and as made by legislators; the latest books and films and cultural and sporting events; the latest inventions, consumer products, medical and scientific discoveries, etc.

The rest of the news is quite useless, however: the demands of politicians for immediate investigations; the expression by politicians of their shock and sadness at this or that; the denunciations by politicians of some helpless minorities or other; the numbing, endless pleas of politicians for more money; the numbing, endless pleas of bureaucrats for more money; the stupefying self-aggrandizement of police agencies and soldiers, each of whose triumphs is the greatest in history, each of whose setbacks is the beginning of the end of Western civilization; and, of course, the details of the private lives of entertainers, politicians and (occasionally) intellectuals.

But "useless" does not mean "valueless"; it only means *useless*—not serviceable or profitable as a means to some other end. Many a useless item is valuable indeed as an end in itself—every great work of art is an instance of this maxim. Gossip, if it is of value to its practitioners, is of value to them as an end in itself—it is "entertaining" or "diverting."

The same is true, I submit, of most "news." "News," as Timothy Leary put it recently, "is the modern version of the gladiator combats of ancient Rome." It "requires a continual supply of newsmakers—reality-actors who play parts in the daytime for prime-time shows that define our existence." The news, Leary says, consists of various such shows, scheduled at various times of day, week and year. "It is no accident, for example, that political carnivals usually occur as summer replacement shows. Urban riots, conventions and political upheavals occur in the summer . . . to charge up the boredom of summer programming." And the most popular type of news show, Leary says, is one built around a "Concept Criminal."

> 1975, for example gave us Joanne Little, Hurricane Carter, Patty, Squeaky, Sara Jane Moore, Emily and Bill Harris, not to mention the return of the irrepressible Berrigan Brothers and the reincarnation comeback of Eldridge Cleaver.
>
> The rituals and performances of 'Concept Criminals' are stereotyped and perfectly understood by both the players and the consuming public: (1). The symbolic crime, publicly committed. (2). The chase or surrender. (3). The arrest. (4). The grand jury hearings (optional). (5). The pretrial litigation. (6). The trial and verdict. And, usually (7). The sale of media rights for memoirs.

Leary was himself such a "Concept Criminal", of course: He dared to flout the American taboo against inhaling the smoke produced by burning the leaves and flowering tops of the common hemp plant (cannabis sativa), and he was ritually pursued and punished for his daring. Richard Nixon is the most recent superstar among "Concept Criminals," put magnificently to the torture by journalists for flouting that most venerable of old wives' tales about presidents—namely, that they are distinguishable from common hoodlums. And the past year has seen brief appearances under the spotlight by Claudine Longet, Idi Amin, Gary Gilmore, James Earl Ray, Huey Newton and Leslie Van Houten—many of them already well-established stars.

But none of this is new. In 1899, when H.L. Mencken presented himself at the Baltimore Morning Herald to learn the newspaper business, he learned that "the primary aim of all newspapermen was to please the crowd, to give a good show; and the way they set about giving that good show was by first selecting a deserving victim and then putting him magnificently to the torture." And since the audience for whom this show was staged was the so-called "man in the street," it was necessary, Mencken found, for the news-

It sometimes appears as though libertarians can only get ideas on radio or TV the way John Galt did it in *Atlas Shrugged*: by seizing the airwaves

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paperman to bear in mind the nature of his audience's interest in such a spectacle.

Whether its proposed victim be a political boss, a police captain, a gambler, a fugitive murderer, or a disgraced clergyman, his interest in it was almost purely a sporting interest. And the intensity of that interest, of course, depended upon the fierceness of the clash. The game was fascinating in proportion as the newspaper directing the pursuit was resourceful and merciless, and in proportion as the eminence of the quarry was great and his resultant downfall spectacular.

A political boss, a police captain, a gambler, a fugitive murderer, a disgraced clergyman. Richard Nixon, J. Edgar Hoover, Howard Hughes, James Earl Ray, Daniel Berrigan. The more things change, the more they remain the same. But the younger journalists who are taking up increasing space on the staffs of newspapers and radio stations in North America, the younger journalists who have grown up in the era of television and who possess what Mencken would have considered rather rudimentary verbal skills—these younger journalists, as a result of their inability or disinclination to read, *know no history*. They do not know, for example, that the "youth drug culture" has been a "problem" off and on since at least the 1840s, or that the same rhetoric now applied to heroin and cocaine was once applied to coffee and tobacco, or even that political "scandals" of the Watergate variety are commonplace in American history (the main difference between Watergate and the others—the resignation of the president—was in large part an embellishment added by the news media; the so-called age of electronic journalism makes the process of harrowing and torturing more effective by several orders of magnitude). They know no history, and so, as Santayana said, they are doomed to repeat it—running about excitedly, as their somewhat more literate counterparts did a century ago, yelping that the sky is falling whenever some tired staple of the news-circus is run through its paces again by a new generation of equally uninformed politicians.

Most L.A. high school grads are below third grade reading level

IGNORANCE OF HISTORY

Of course this ignorance of history makes it possible for a journalist to do his work without becoming bitter about it as I have become, without coming to regard it as foolishness as I have come to regard the bulk of it. It also enables him to speak soberly about a film like "Network" and its implication that the news business, at least on TV, might become part of the entertainment business—as if, in the main, it had ever been anything else.

But this ignorance also makes it impossible for a journalist to do his real job—the gathering and presentation of useful new information—adequately. It makes it impossible for him to escape from the mode of mental functioning of a child. A child, as I asserted earlier, characteristically turns to adults for information he desires and fails to obtain to his own satisfaction on his own. An occasional child does a good deal of investigating on his own—takes everything apart to see how it works, that sort of thing—and implicitly trusts his own judgment of what he learns above anybody else's. So does an occasional reporter. But the average kid figures: since adults know everything, why bother; ask them. So does the average reporter. The average kid's excuse for this attitude is that he can't read and therefore has little way of finding out how problems like his have been treated before—which is, to say, of learning history. So is the average younger reporter's. The average kid, because of his attitude, is highly gullible. If he has a headache and an adult wearing a white coat and a stethoscope hands him an aspirin and says "here, try this new wonder drug I just invented; it'll take away your headache," he's likely to believe that adult, especially when the drug *does* take away his headache. It's only if he knows some history that he'll be skeptical—like the fact that identical white pills are present in his family medicine cabinet, or if his family uses Tylenol in liquid form, the knowledge acquired from reading that aspirin exists as an alternative. He might, these days, learn about aspirin from television too; from a kid's point of view television is also adults furnishing the answers—adults in remote places brought near through the miracle of electronics.

The average reporter is in the same boat. He too is gullible. Witness this story, which made the news last February. This is part of the version which ran on KFWB one afternoon that month:

Red wine apparently is good for more than sprucing up an Italian dinner or causing a wicked hangover.

Two Canadian researchers say they've found that red wine and grape juice effectively inactivate some harmful viruses.

The researchers say wine apparently fights disease-causing viruses as a result of acidic compounds that occur in grape skins. Viruses studied in the experiments included those associated with stomach and intestinal disorders. . . .

Well, . . . as late as 1905, all hospitals and pharmacies in this country stocked twelve medically approved varieties of wine, for prescription in the treatment of, among other ailments, stomach and intestinal disorders. In 1910, alcohol, mainly in the form of wine, was the fifth most often prescribed drug in American medicine. It is only since the 1920s and mainly in this country that wine has *not* been regarded

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as a medically important drug. The story of the Canadian researchers' "discovery" is actually the story of a re-discovery (or possibly of the old trick of claiming a forgotten idea as one's own invention). But to know all this, if one is not a nonagenarian, one must *read.*

MYTHS ABOUT DRUGS

Consider the concept of the heroin overdose death, a concept to which we have all heard and read countless such references in the news: Ed Davis, the chief of police in Los Angeles, told reporters from all media early this year that the heroin overdose death rate for Los Angeles had gone up since marijuana had been decriminalized in California; a few weeks later, Evelle Younger, the state attorney general, told the same reporters he needed more money to stem the flow of Mexican heroin into California—it was increasing the number of junkies, he said, and that was increasing the number of robberies and the number of heroin overdose deaths; a few weeks after that, police in the San Fernando Valley put out a warning to heroin users that some unusually pure smack was going around and kids were o.d.'ing on it.

There are no verified cases of death by heroin overdose

These statements are tissues of absurdity on a number of counts. The relation between the decriminalization of marijuana and the heroin overdose death rate is left carefully unspecified. The idea that junkies steal to feed their habits is half-true; many of them work, sell a little heroin on the side, and (yes, *really*) lay off the junk for periods when they run low on money. It is exceptionally naive to think that any dealer in illegal drugs is going to sell a quantity of 100% heroin for the same price he normally charges for a mixture of 6-12% heroin and 88-94% quinine or lactose. It is exceptionally naive to think that any drug user with much experience is going to be unable to tell from a preliminary "taste" that he is dealing with a drug six to twelve times more powerful than he's used to. In any case, according to the U.S. Public Health Service, it takes not six, not twelve, but fifty times the usual dose to kill an unaddicted human adult, administered in a single intravenous injection; and because of the phenomenon known as tolerance it takes more than 180 times the usual dose to kill an addict—again, administered in a single intravenous injection. But, and this is the crux of the matter, *there has never been a single documented case of death caused by heroin overdose in this country.*

Coroners and medical examiners employ two criteria in classifying deaths as "by heroin overdose": (1). The deceased was a heroin addict who shot up prior to his death; (2). There is no evidence of suicide, violence, infection, or other natural cause. Dr. Milton Helpern, Chief Medical Examiner of the City of New York, where most heroin overdose deaths are said to occur, explained this in 1966 in an article in the *New York State Journal of Medicine* ("Deaths from Narcotism in New York City," V. 66, p. 2393) and went on to explain that in all such cases as his office was able to examine in greater detail, symptoms were present which could not have been present if heroin had been the cause of death. Further, Dr. Helpern wrote, in those deaths in which heroin did figure as a causal factor (there were some in which it was irrelevant), the doses shot up by the junkies before dying were *not* overdoses; that is, they were not larger or purer than ordinary doses. The deaths had been caused, not by heroin, but by such lethal *combinations* as heroin and quinine, heroin and barbiturates, and heroin and alcohol. Junkies who die after shooting up are dying, not of overdoses of heroin, but of ordinary doses of adulterated heroin and certain fatal combinations of drugs. They need to be warned to *prefer* purer heroin to what they ordinarily get—the *purer* it is the *less* likely it is to kill them. They need to be warned to avoid drinking and shooting up or popping downers and shooting up. Instead they're warned to avoid pure heroin and every effort is made to make it legally unavailable to them.

Dr. Helpern's findings were anticipated by those of Dr. Ray E. Trussell and Mr. Harold Alksne, in their as yet unpublished study prepared for the Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine in 1959, and they have since been confirmed by the findings of New York City's Deputy Medical Examiner, Dr. Michael M. Baden, in a paper presented to the American Medical Association in 1969, by those of Drs. William B. Deichmann and Horace W. Gerarde as reported in their 1969 textbook, *Toxicology of Drugs and Chemicals* and by those of Dr. Ramon Gardner of Bethlehem Royal Hospital and Maudsley Hospital in London in a 1969 article for the British Medical Journal, *Lancet.* In 1972, Edward M. Brecher summarized these and other related findings in chapter ten of the Consumers Union report, *Licit and Illicit Drugs,* which was published in hard and soft covers by a major publisher, Little Brown, was widely reviewed and has already become a standard reference in its field.

In light of all this, the statements of Ed Davis, Evelle Younger, and the San Fernando Valley police would seem to be the statements either of ignoramuses or of liars out to justify their jobs. And the more recent announcement by the Federal Drug Enforcement Administration that the heroin overdose death rate is down nationwide would seem to be attributable to more precise methods of reporting having been adopted by coroners and medical examiners, especial-

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ly in New York. The Drug Enforcement Administration attributes it, paradoxically, to the *impurity* of today's street heroin; as a spokesman told reporters, it is sometimes only 5% pure (but then, William Burroughs reports in his classic memoir *Junky* that street heroin was only 6% pure in the 40's and 50's—when the "overdose death rate" began rising).

Too many journalists nowadays have read too little, however, to be aware of the information to which I've been referring. So when the Ed Davises and Evelle Youngers of the country make highly questionable statements to them, they take those statements at face value. They print and broadcast those statements at face value too, believing that in doing so they are disseminating useful facts, when actually they are merely spreading unfounded rumors—one of the baser occupations of gossips.

I've chosen to spend so much time on misreporting of drug news, because drugs is a subject on which I am widely read and in which I am widely experienced. I know a good deal about the subject. As Mencken observed more than 60 years ago:

> One of the principal marks of an educated man. . .is the fact that he does *not* take his opinions from newspapers. . . .On the contrary, his attitude toward them is almost always one of frank cynicism, with indifference as its mildest form and contempt as its commonest. He knows that they are constantly falling into false reasoning about the things within his special knowledge—that is, within the narrow circle of his special education—and so he assumes that they make the same, or even worse errors about other things. . . .This assumption, it may be said at once, is quite justified by the facts.

LIBERTARIANISM AS NEWS

Educated men take their opinions from experience, tempered by books; and from books, tempered by experience. But too many contemporary jounalists, as we have seen, do not read books, except for books from the best-seller list, about which the less said the better. And because they do not read books, they fail to learn one of the principal lessons we learn from books—the variety of perspectives and interpretations which may be brought to bear on a single event or situation in life. They remain trapped in the child's mode of thought, in which anything is believable, even a proposition which defies the evidence of one's senses, if only it is endorsed by an authority—for a child, an adult; for a journalist, a government official or a "leader" of business, labor, farming, medicine, law, etc. In the absence of a developed skill at judging situations himself (which he can only develop by learning to read and by reading history), the reporter can only go on doing as he did when he was a child, asking authorities.

This is why he fills his newscasts with the sayings and doings of authorities, even when they are nonsensical or unimportant—even, that is, when they are just gossip about the authorities: this is why he reports that President Ford went for a swim this morning or that Chief Ed Davis has blamed women's lib for homosexuality. This is why almost all the news you hear or watch or read is originated by wire services (Do you want to know what's happening in the world? Ask UPI). This is why most of the local news you hear or watch or read is originated by news conferences or police radio broadcasts (Do you want to know what's happening locally? Ask someone who knows—the police or somebody). This is why the facts about heroin overdose are unknown to journalists. They were not released at a news conference as the result of a so many year, so many million dollar study. They were printed in magazines and books, which too many journalists do not read and whose publication too many of them do not regard as "news."

Abstractions aren't news: it must be "McGinnis steals $1,257,867.25," not "McGinnis lacks ethical sense"

It is this last point which brings me back at long last to libertarians and the news. The libertarian who wants publicity must know his media not only in the technical sense of knowing who does what when and how—perhaps even to the extent of developing a national directory of libertarians, libertarian sympathizers and fellow travelers and libertarian tolerators in the media—but also in the sense of knowing how to package himself and his activities so as to make them most newsworthy.

If news is, as I have said it is, gossip, useless talk—either inherently useless or made useless by the reporter's ignorance of the facts—gossip about the sayings and doings of authorities—the people to whom illiterate adults turn for information, protection, consolation, help and entertainment, as they once turned to their parents—if this is what news is, then what libertarians have got to dangle before journalists when they want publicity is the sayings and doings of authorities who are libertarians or whose sayings and doings implicitly lend strength to the libertarian point of view.

When Friedrich Hayek comes to town, as he did last spring in Los Angeles, libertarians must take advantage of his Nobel Prize of a few years ago, (which makes him a bona-fide authority) and call a news conference or arrange for a period after his speech when the Professor can talk with reporters. They must notify the right reporters, schedule the

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appearance at the right time and stress in their news releases that the distinguished winner of the 1974 Nobel Prize in Economics for his work in *monetary theory* blames the current inflation-recession on the government's sorry job of managing the *money* supply and proposes that banks and other monetary institutions be permitted to compete with the government in issuing money. He accuses a transgressor—the government—and proposes a novel punishment. Not as good a show as the Timothy Leary Show or the Patty Hearst Show or the Dick Nixon Watergate Show—but a good enough routine side show. It wasn't promoted that way in Los Angeles in May, and it wasn't covered.

Hayek has been proposing free market money for a year now and he hasn't been covered—because he's been proposing it in a pamphlet and not at news conferences. Reporters don't read pamphlets.

And they don't consider abstract pronouncements news. As Mencken wrote nearly 65 years ago: "It must be 'McGinnis steals $1,257,867.25,' not 'McGinnis lacks ethical sense.'" Similarly, it must be "Hayek says U.S. economy could reach full employment without inflation in four years with free-market money," *not* "Hayek says only free-market money provides capitalism with the kind of money it needs to work adequately." And it must be "Szasz says solution to California's mental hospital crisis is close the hospitals and free the inmates" not "Szasz says involuntary commitment of mental patients is inconsistent with the ideal of a free society," which is what he said last February at the California Libertarian Party Convention in Los Angeles. And it must be "Economist David Friedman, son of Nobel Laureate, says, Tom Hayden lost to John Tunney because, though he poses as a radical, he offers no real alternative" or "Soviet dissident Pavel Litvinov says libertarians are best hope for U.S. not ending up like Soviet Union" *not* "Uh, Jeff, you know we're having a Conference at USC day after tomorrow and I wondered if the information I sent to the station is going to be used."

Why don't you hear more often about libertarians and libertarianism on the news? Because libertarians don't know their media. Or if they do, they don't act like it.

Jeff Riggenbach is a frequent contributor to Libertarian Review. *This essay is substantially identical with remarks prepared for delivery at the 1977 Libertarian Party Convention in San Francisco.*

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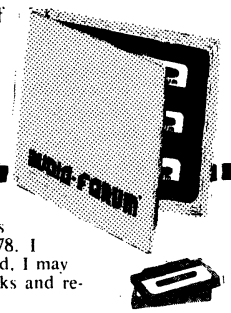

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"ARE WE GOING TO LET CITY HALL RUN OUR LIVES?" – ILLINOIS TAXPAYERS GET MILITANT

By Murray Rothbard

In recent months, a mighty property tax strike has been sweeping the northern suburbs of Chicago, and, for once, the ideological and organizational leadership of the rebellion is being provided by libertarians.

It all began with a recent massive property reassessment in the northern quadrant of Cook County, Illinois. The reassessments suddenly boosted property taxes by very large amounts: most raises were in the 50-65 percent range; other tax bills increased by as much as 300 percent.

When the property tax bills were sent out, the citizens of the North Shore reacted with shock and anger. At first the reaction was outraged but inchoate: phone calls bombarded the Cook County Assessors Office. Complaints also deluged the *Chicago Tribune*, which initiated public knowledge of the firestorm of grievance by printing some of the complaints in a front-page article. Many of the letters were a cry from the heart, asking, in effect, where is the leadership, where is the organization, that can organize and redress my grievances? Thus, one outraged taxpayer wrote: "I bitterly resent the government trying to steal my house from me, and that's what they're doing." Another poured out his frustrations in the *Chicago Tribune* article: "I just don't know what to do. It's frustrating as hell. I hear people talk about a revolution, but I don't know how to revolt."

As soon as the article was published, libertarian activists from the Libertarian Party of Illinois and the National Taxpayers United (the Illinois affiliate of the National Taxpayers Union) saw their opportunity and seized it. A meeting was arranged in Evanston between representatives from the LPI and NTU, and an Evanston resident quoted in the *Tribune* article. The meeting formed a Taxpayer's Protest Committee, with Leonard Hartman, the quoted Evanston resident, at its head. James Tobin, 31 year old economist and bank auditor and Illinois NTU head who was to become the principal leader of the tax rebellion, urged an outright tax strike; he was ably seconded by Milton Mueller, chairman of the Libertarian Party of Illinois.

The committee decided to call a "town hall" type meeting in Evanston to see if the property taxpayers would be willing to go along with an outright tax strike—a refusal to pay the assessed taxes. Notice of the meeting ran only in the early editions of the *Chicago Tribune*; largely, the organizers relied merely on word-of-mouth.

The committee expected about 50 people to appear at the meeting, which was held on the night of August 3rd in the Evanston Public Library. Instead, 200 citizens showed up. Harmann, without a libertarian background, argued for a legal protest: paying the taxes while protesting and appealing the assessments. But James Tobin far better expressed the radical spirit of the meeting by calling for an open tax strike. "We all know we've had big taxes thrown on our backs," Tobin charged. "And now it has come down to what we're going to do about it. Are we going to let city hall control our lives, or are we doing to make enough noise for

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them to listen to us?" It is particularly gratifying to me that my *Conceived in Liberty* was brandished aloft by Tobin as he explained why it was not "unpatriotic" to refuse tax payments, giving examples from the book of early American tax revolts. Tobin asserted that "We've gotten to the point where we are afraid of our government, afraid of what it can do to us. It's time somebody stood up and pointed the finger!"

Tobin also presented a well-thought out set of demands for the tax strike. The demands included: (a) extending the August 15th deadline for property tax payments by three months; (b) freezing assessments at the old rate, so that taxes do not go up along with government-created inflation; (c) no increase in tax rates without a publicly-announced referendum; (d) allowing small groups of taxpayers to obtain referenda for reducing tax rates; and (e) full amnesty for the tax strikers.

The sentiment of the crowd was overwhelmingly in favor of the tax strike, which was only opposed by two persons. Typical of the sentiment was the charge by a German immigrant in Evanston that when he attempted to challenge the increased assessment, the assessors told him that he had to wait until he received his bill; but after he received the bill, the office told him that he would have had to challenge the assessment *before* the bill was sent. "These are Nazi tactics!" the man charged.

The organizers passed the hat at the meeting and raised over $400 for printing and for an advertisement in a local paper. More important was the excellent publicity generated by the meeting: a *Tribune* article, a page three article in the *Chicago Daily News* replete with pictures; and coverage by two TV stations and several radio stations.

As the rest of the North Shore was leafleted, meetings burgeoned in other townships, such as Glenview, Palatine, and Wilmette. The *New York Times* gave full coverage, plus photographs, to a later meeting in Evanston, held on August 18th at the First United Methodist Church. The meeting of 350 homeowners "shouted their approval" as Jim Tobin charged that "Taxes are immoral," and nationwide TV coverage showed "Taxation is Theft" placards being brandished at these Illinois tax protest meetings. Tobin told the cheering throng that "you can never call a tax fair when you are forced to pay against your will. It's immoral to force me to pay for educational facilities when I don't have any children to send to school. It's immoral to force the elderly and retired to pay for schools that are no use to them." In this way, Tobin escalated the analysis, and raised the libertarian consciousness of his listeners by widening the attack to the public school system itself—the "consumer" of the bulk of all property taxes across the country.

In its August issue announcing the strike, the *Illinois Libertarian*, the newsletter of the Libertarian Party of Illinois, concludes its informative article by saying that "How effective the strike will be is dependent upon many unpredictable things. But by any standard, our efforts thus far have been extremely rewarding, and if the politicians aren't paying attention they'll be sorry. The strike may not cripple the county government or even come near it, but even so, thousands of people have either taken actions or been exposed to ideas which question the very legitimacy of government."

But, in a sense, this thoughtful conclusion underestimates the impact of the Illinois tax strike. For the later *New York Times* article indicates clearly that the politicians have indeed been paying attention, and are scared stiff. The pattern of the New Jersey income tax protest movement of last year is repeating itself, with politicians scrambling to cover their flanks.

Thus, when Tobin and a throng of protestors showed up at the governor's office in Chicago to demand a special session of the legislature to redress the grievances, the "discomfited" Governor James Thompson promised to consider the request, and "expressed sympathy with the group's aims." At the August 18th Evanston meeting, several government officials showed up to try to explain the tax increase. They were received with "jeers and boos", but despite that, "the officials gave sympathetic responses and some concessions to the taxpayers' demands." Thus, George Dunne, chief executive officer of Cook county, pledged at the meeting to support a move in the legislature to roll back property taxes. The same pledge was made by the counsel for Thomas M. Tully, the Cook county assessor. The counsel, Dan Pierce, agreed with the protestors that he doesn't understand why the county's budget is so high. "There's no question that the taxes are too high," Pierce conceded; he particularly didn't understand why school district budgets had doubled in the last seven years of Cook county, at a time when school enrollments were declining.

Thus, libertarians have leaped to discover and give voice to the anti-government and anti-tax grievances of their fellow citizens. Not only have they been mobilized for libertarian action and educated in libertarian ideas, including opposition to the public schools and the idea that taxation is theft, but the politicians have begun to knuckle under to their vociferous demands and actions. Politicians, scared of their jobs and of the voters, will buckle under pressure. This has already been demonstrated in Illinois.

Finally, the tax rebellion shows the great importance of libertarian activists and organizations—such as the LPI and NTU—already being *in place* to take advantage of and take the lead in mass protests and mass movements.

For further information about the tax rebellion in Illinois, write to The Libertarian Party of Illinois, Post Office Box 313, Chicago, Ill. 60690.

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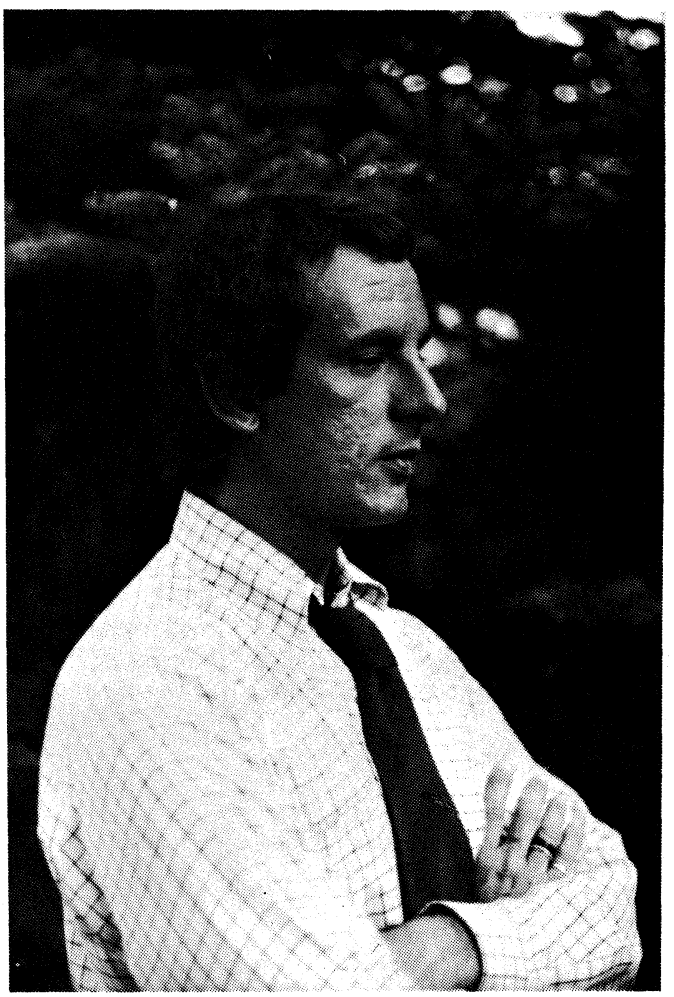
THE ALTERNATIVE: AN AMERICAN SPECTACLE

By David Brudnoy



"Now I, as a strict civil libertarian . . . ."

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., Editorial,
"Poet on a Fuzzy Toilet Seat Cover,"
The Alternative, April 1977

"I am entirely willing to allow homosexuals their fantasies as long as they keep these private or at least discreet. When they make their childishness a matter of civil rights . . . they are no longer merely innocent and amusing but arrantly pernicious to liberty. The 'gay movement' has become even more preposterous than the women's movement and so a horse laugh on its claims. One can be as childish as one wants to be but when one is acting out childish fantasies one has no legitimate claim on the citizenry's attention or solicitude or the canons of liberty that safeguard political and social expression."

R. Emmett Tyrrell, from a letter to
David Brudnoy, January 7, 1977

The "strict civil libertarian" R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., conceived of his magazine, *The Alternative*, as one which would "bare the witness and the truth." For ten years Tyrrell and a shifting collection of associates have published the magazine in Bloomington, Indiana, providing the readers with reviews, essays, asides, put-ons, preachments, and lengthy articles penned by some of America's leading thinkers, particularly those on the Right, with many younger writers. Some have gone on to reach wider audiences through other journals (one thinks of Pulitzer Prize columnist George F. Will, among the most notable), while others have faded into obscurity. *The Alternative* takes chances on writers, and its editor-in-chief, Tyrrell, whose editorials are always signed and whose name occasionally does *not* appear prominently on the cover, has over the years mastered a pseudo-Menckenian style and discovered an ability to make liberal use of the thesaurus and an uncanny facility for mirroring the yahoo views of his bucolic neighbors and the leading financial backers of his journal. He rechristened his magazine *The Alternative: An American Spectator* in recent years, and now, with the November issue celebrating its tenth anniversary, has rechristened it again, this time simply *The American Spectator*. Tyrell makes it clear, in a note in the November issue, that the logic behind this last change was so that *The Alternative* would not be thought of—horrors!—as advocating an alternative *lifestyle*. That, alas, has come to be typical, for Tyrell has to a peculiar degree in recent years fastened his magazine's gaze on the homosexual issue, or as he prefers to call it, the "so-called homosexual rights" issue.

For years and years Tyrrell promoted his magazine with a quotation from William F. Buckley, Jr., praising *The Alternative* as "one of the most amusing and outrageous and interesting student journals in America." That the editor and his cronies had years ago become somewhat long in the tooth, and their magazine remained a "student journal" only in its dogged attachment to the assumed characteristics of the second year of collegiate student life, didn't bother the editor. Today, he must take some particular delight in

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promoting his magazine with a dozen excerpts from recent articles, two of which dwell on the "so-called" homosexual rights issue: one by a person named Maloney, an undiluted attack on homosexuals; the other by Ralph Raico, a libertarian attack on psychiatry that, by sharp editing, becomes in *The Alternative's* promotional material an attack on *homosexuals*.

This last is most peculiar, since Dr. Raico's "Gay Rights: A Libertarian Approach," written as a lengthy position paper for the 1976 MacBride for President Committee, is to date the most significant, balanced, and sensible defense of homosexual rights to appear in print for political purposes. To tout Maloney's piece when advertising the delights to be found in reading *The Alternative* is understandable, given that journal's recent fascination with marshaling any conceivable support on behalf of its war against homosexuals; the use of a piece by Raico on one subject as support for another position, one that Raico despises, is, unfortunately, also quite understandable, once one has come to terms with the journal's obsession. The "strict civil libertarian" editor knows what he's doing.

A personal word is in order. I write not as a stranger to *The Alternative*, but as one who was an "associate" (that's a masthead position below "senior editor" and above "contributor") for several years, contributor of the film column throughout the early 1970's, book reviewer and essayist for six years. I often found myself mortified by articles in the magazine (owing to the sometimes cavalier way they deal with serious issues, and the cruelty with which they confront sometimes vulnerable people), and frequently attempted to nudge Tyrrell in directions other than those he chose to take.

Nevertheless, I remained with the journal until January of this year, when I resigned as a result of the editor's unwillingness to reconsider his magazine's position on the "so-called homosexual rights" issue. The piece by Maloney, to which I shall refer at length, was the final straw, or rather the penultimate straw: Tyrrell's letter to me, from which I quoted in part at the beginning of this article, and which came in response to a lengthy letter I had written him, did the trick. I had concluded my letter to him with these sentences: "If you like, consider this a resignation from the magazine. If you prefer that we not come to that pass, kindly write to me at your early convenience and let me know what you intend to do about the matter. I am, as always, your friend, and one who wishes you and yours continued happiness; whether I can remain the magazine's friend depends. On you." Tyrrell's letter to me, seven days later, concluded: "P.S. If you want to quit the masthead, that is your decision." It is, and I did so.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ISSUE

Until 1973 *The Alternative* did not recognize the existence of homosexuals or the homosexual rights question. In February of that year I published a piece in the magazine, entitled "Queer-Baiting for Faith, Fun and Profit." This was accompanied by a "balancing piece" by Gary North called "The Perseverance of the Family," and while one had nothing to do with the other, *The Alternative* had covered its rear by seeing to it that my historical resume and prescription for change was preceded by a standard traditionalist paean. Readers could take comfort in knowing that the journal stuck to the straight and (very, very) narrow even as it allowed one of its "associates" to amuse himself with a call for tolerance.

Nothing further of consequence appeared in the magazine on this subject until October 1973, when one Grover Rees, writing under the pen-name "John Randolph," and E.T. Veal responded to my article. Messrs. "Randolph" and Veal, whom Anita Bryant might comfortably use for additional material while she explains God's will to the heathen, said the predictable, as did I in a rejoinder after which several issues contained the expectable letters-to-the-editor, and another letter from Edith Efron, a sensible, wise, pointed analysis of the issue, brushing away the mumbo-jumbo and concentrating on the significant underlying matter. "If one understands the concept of rights," she wrote, "one applies them to all people whether their values (sexual or otherwise) are congenial or displeasing. The problem of co-existence with unpleasing people of any category is not particularly difficult of resolution." The corollary of the principle of freedom of association—the right *not* to associate—could solve it easily. Ms. Efron's comments defending tolerance were a bit of sanity coming in the midst of what she herself called a "barroom brawl."

The whole thing turned into a Bloomington, Indiana equivalent of the never-ending letters-to-the-editors wars in *Commentary*, and was concluded in March 1974, by editor Tyrrell's final note: "Frankly, this whole correspondence has me so baffled I am retiring from my editorial chamber to spend more time with my butterfly collection." This followed my last attempt to make sense of the subject: a letter wondering whether *The Alternative*, which published "Randolph"—Rees's sentence "Queers. Queers queers queers," would publish one that went: "Niggers. Niggers niggers niggers." Or "Kikes. Kikes kikes kikes." Or "Spics. Spics spics spics." Tyrrell's bored and deliberately flitty editorial note made his attitude quite clear.

We met more of Mr. Tyrrell's attitude toward homosexuals and homosexuality as the months passed. "The Bootblack Stand, by George Washington Plunkitt," one of the editor's regular pseudonymous entries, contained (March 1976) a letter to "Dr. Plunkitt" signed by "Leonard Matlovich" (written, of course, by *The Alternative*), asking the political wizard how he could refute the cruel charge that "having homosexuals in the armed forces might impair their fighting capabilities." Plunkitt-Tyrrell responds: "Dear Mr. Matlovich: It is an absurd disfiguration of the historical

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record to claim that homosexuals impair the fighting capabilities of military units. Many people of your persuasion fought effectively in World War II under the glorious banners of the German Schutzstaffel (SS). Also, let us not forget that your people served with valor at such crucial spots as Auschwitz and Dachau. Mention this the next time you speak on campus, and my best to your family." The May 1976 issue brought the homosexual matter back to "The Bootblack Stand," with similar cogency.

"The Lavender Menace" must be read to be disbelieved: it makes Bryant's attacks seem restrained by contrast. And in a "libertarian" magazine, of all places

SNIDE, STUPID AND PHILISTINE

The Alternative and its editor were off and running. References, invariably snide, usually stupid, always philistine, to homosexuals and the "so-called homosexual rights" matter, appeared so frequently in the journal in late 1975 and early 1976 that I wrote to Tyrrell and urged him to get off the track of that particular manic engine. No response. I should probably have realized in the spring of 1976, when my plea for a civilized attitude in the pages of the magazine was not even answered, that the case was hopeless. The depths to which *The Alternative* was anxious to go in furthering its assault—that I didn't know.

In December, I knew. Stephen R. Maloney, who was identified as having written articles for *The Alternative* on *Penthouse* and *Ms.* magazines, returned with a cover-featured article "The Lavender Menace" (December 1976), "Though many homosexuals are harmless and even goodly, the 'gay liberation' movement is tawdry, libertine, and barbaric. What is more, its ambience is not especially gay." It degenerated from that point. Taking up several pages, the article managed to cram in virtually every myth, canard, distortion, and hysterical, pseudoscientific, fundamentalist attack imaginable. Humorless, deliberately ignorant, cruel, and fundamentally wrong minded: Mr. Maloney's piece makes the Orange Juice Lady's attacks seem restrained in comparison. He spares us *his* direct pipeline to God, but he manages to find a variety of other sources in support of his views, including a man he identifies as "the Dutch expert on homosexuality, Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek," whom he uses to bolster his argument, though Dr. Ruitenbeek is a leading *defender* of the individual rights of homosexuals.

"The Lavender Menace" I take to be the views of *The Alternative's* editor as enunciated by a stooge, Stephen R. Maloney. The piece is replete with errors, it is utterly one-sided in its presentation of "evidence," and it is selective beyond endurance, concentrating repeatedly on any seamy side of homosexuality and dismissing or ignoring any other. If Maloney can find a name to buttress his view, he does so. We have, then, psychiatrist Evelyn Hooker, whom Maloney quotes as saying that "the most standardized and characteristic pattern . . . in the 'gay' world is the 'one-night stand.'" Very possibly she has said this. And it may be true. What Maloney does not bother to mention is that Dr. Hooker, like Dr. Ruitenbeek, is forthrightly libertarian on this question, a voice of reason in an echo chamber of hysterics, and she has worked valiantly for decades to alter America's homophobic attitude.

But Maloney cannot know that: he does not want to know that. His editor does not want to know that either; *The Alternative* found in Maloney's several thousand words of balderdash the perfect expression of its own fears, hatreds, bigotries. While he flails away at "gay liberation," a "pink-blooded American 'liberation' movement" (how they must have howled at that in Bloomington), the magazine publishing him sinks close to the level of the Miami bumper-stickers in the late Dade County fight: "Kill a Queer for Christ," the bumperstickers read, in support of Ms. Bryant's witch-hunt. Kill decency for a good hoot, the magazine proclaims in publishing Maloney's article.

Mr. Maloney calls himself a "closet libertarian," one who would not "begrudge homosexuals their civil liberties or their privacy." "The Lavender Menace" echoes the usual conservative line on the gay matter: "discreet homosexuals" earn his sympathy; "Pecksniffs"—Tyrrell's gang adores that word and other Menckenisms—earn Maloney's scorn; and homosexuals may, with Stephen R. Maloney's consent, make "perfect asses" of themselves.

Maloney quotes the notorious homophobe, Charles Socarides, supposedly the "greatest living expert on homosexual behavior," who insists on heterosexuality lest we as a species obliterate ourselves. So we must "distinguish . . . between behavior that should be prohibited and behavior that should be disapproved." This is the standard right-wing "tolerant" line, and it is, predictably, the prelude to a race through history, rescued by Maloney from "'Gay' revisionists [who] would have us believe that history is a veritable procession of fuchsia chariots, emperors in drag, poets pining for the lad next door, and the boys in the band composing unforgettable symphonies." It would not dawn on Maloney to read the recent Katz anthology on the gay person in history: facts intrude on ideology. That awkward Greek experience receives only the one interpretation that

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Maloney can abide: the Greeks despised actual homosexual activity.

Central to the Maloney tactic is the constant skirting of any disquieting contradictory evidence: he quotes William Aaron's *Straight*, the tormented, pathetic confessions of an "ex"-homosexual, at pains to point out only the most sordid of homosexual activity, but he ignores any of dozens of books pointing in an opposite direction, such as "John Reid's" *The Best Little Boy in the World*, which some years ago I reviewed in *The New York Times*, and which is an affirmation of the gay life by a prominent journalist, whose use of the pseudonym reflects the continued American disdain for the homosexual who "comes out."

Virtually all of Maloney's sources come from that homophobic fringe; the more recent literature is ignored, the self-disclosures of Dr. Howard Brown, Merle Miller, and others are nowhere to be seen in Maloney's world of the miserable, wretched fags. "Gay sexuality in fact is almost wedded to lavatories; the sexual relations often appear more fecal than genital, reminiscent of the 'sexuality' of an incontinent two-year-old." Moreover, "Homophiles are the most egregious youth-worshippers," says Maloney. Of course heterosexuals in America worship the senior citizen . . . .

"Mostly homosexuality begets violence and mutual abasement," he writes, which is why the overwhelming majority of child molestation, child abuse by parents, wife beating, murder, and rape are committed by heterosexuals.

The fallacies fly at us: "Gay polemics has wed itself to lunatic economic mysticism." "Gay liberation is . . . utterly humorless." Maloney considers the damage "Gay Liberation" is "inflicting on the central institution of Western civilization: the family."

"The ascendancy of homosexuals is helping us on the way to such disintegration in our time—not by the nasty acts they perpetrate on one another in the restrooms of the local bus stations but by the way their self-justifications fuel what St. Augustine called the 'burning cauldron of unholy lusts.' Their excessive concentration on self-gratification reinforces the onanistic tendencies found in such journals of supposedly heterosexual chic as *Playboy*." The article must be read to be disbelieved.

THE FLOODGATES BURST

Libertarian readers, gay readers, supporters of gay rights, reacted in horror to the Maloney piece. Several wrote to me, since I had published the 1973 piece, and sent me copies of their letters to Tyrrell and his to them.

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The tone of Tyrrell's response was invariably one of hard-nosed surety: "As a libertarian," he begins one letter to a correspondent, "as a libertarian," he begins the second sentence to another; and then the succeeding sentences, in which the editor stands firmly behind Maloney and insists that if one is either homosexual or a supporter of homosexual "rights" one is childish. To me, in the letter of January 7, 1977: "No doubt many adults cherish their quota of childish fantasies, but most have the dignity to keep these fantasies to themselves and perhaps a select circle of sympathetic friends. Homosexuality is to my mind a puerile fantasy, a throwback to the polymorphous perversity of early childhood. For those fetched by it, it is doubtless pleasurable or at least satisfying, but it is childish."

Neither I nor those correspondents who have shared their letters (and Tyrrell's responses to their letters) with me made any effort to push *for* homosexuality; but the editor is incapable of addressing the issue of the individual rights of gays. And so he resorts to weakly crowing that he is a libertarian and to casting mud in the eye of anyone who doesn't delight in the same primitive viciousness as R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. and Stephen Maloney—the journalism of stupidity, cruelty, and proud ignorance.

The February 1977 correspondence section took after Maloney with a vengeance. "Name withheld," of Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Kristol (I presume sister to senior editor William Kristol, and daughter of Irving, one of the godfathers of *The Alternative*); and two other writers took Maloney to task, and he responded to these "defenders of the dreary 'gay' life" with more of the same, concluding: "The compulsive libertinism evident in the public statements and (generally) private acts of homosexuals is incompatible with the ordered, family-centered society that undergirds a free people engaged in preserving and protecting our Constitution and our culture." Which just about says it all: if you defend equal justice for homosexuals (as Dr. Raico does in his clear-sighted pamphlet "Gay Rights: A Libertarian Approach"), you slice away at the Constitution, at our culture, and at the family. Q.E.D.

The last few months have been dénoument. Tyrrell's "Fuzzy Toilet-Seat"editorial both proclaimed his "strict libertarianism" and took another swipe at the "so-called homosexual rights advocates"—what would such persons do without "so-called"? Let us try "the so-called editor of *The Alternative*" to see how comfortably it fits on Tyrrell's shoulders instead of on the tip of his pen—and subtitles a piece called "A Question for Consenting Adults," (April 1977) "Is talking to a CIA agent worse than having a homosexual affair with him?" And Tyrrell's "Continuing Crisis" section (May 1977) noted that "the nation's pederasts were miffed by that Illinois supreme court ruling that allows prison escapees to cite 'homosexual attacks' as a defense for flight."

We're down to the chickenfeed stuff now, but the chickenfeed stuff has become the sustenance of *The Alternative*. Besides, nothing can go farther than Maloney's "Lavender Menace" and still be suitable to be printed anywhere left of the Bircher journals or one of the flyers from Phyllis Schlafly, organs that have elected to go all out in their crusades against homosexuals, heterosexual defenders of homosexual rights, and any American who has a somewhat different interpretation of what civil rights might mean. Different, that is, from what *The Alternative* knows is properly American.

The Alternative itself is at dead end. It has a few thousand subscribers, enjoys the patronage (at least on its stationery) of luminaries like Edward Banfield, Martin Diamond, William Buckley, Nathan Glazer, Hugh Kenner, Robert Nisbet, Henry Regnery, Ernest van den Haag, and manages to get hold of cast-off pieces by major writers, reprint excellent pieces from other journals, and provide a showcase for younger writers who will usually desert the magazine as soon as they can find more civilized berths.

The Alternative speaks more and more to a terrified, ignorant Middle America, and in the gay issue it has found the perfect vehicle to reaffirm its commitment to those values which most reinforce the worst of the past and most impede worthy change for the future.

One cannot put out of mind the Dade County referendum fight, where the homosexuals wanted too much (to interfere in the private rights of unfriendly Americans) and Anita Bryant's victorious forces also wanted too much (to cram their idiotic fundamentalism down everyone else's throats.). Once *The Alternative* might have been expected to wend its way through the competing ideologies, locate a sane point that would dismiss the myths yet affirm the libertarian verities, and do what many of the older conservative journals cannot and will not do. But that time has passed.

George Will, William Safire, Patrick Buchanan, and the rest walk hand-in-glove with Anita Bryant. The judicious journalistic line comes from the liberals (Carl Rowan), the unclassifiable Nicholas von Hoffman, from libertarians like Ralph Raico and those few others who understand a principle when they see one and can differentiate it from a prejudice, and from the ironic pen of a Russell Baker, who can take the "role model" argument and expose it for the nonsense it is.

But on this issue the conservatives are hopeless. R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. and his *Alternative* mouth the words and think the thoughts of unrestrained bigotry. *The Alternative* is an American spectacle—a spectacle of ignorance and traditionalism masquerading as whimsy and "libertarianism."

David Brudnoy is host of "The David Brudnoy Show" on WHDH Radio in Boston; arts critic of WNAC-TV; a nationally syndicated columnist; film, restaurant and book reviewer for several journals; and an American historian. He has recently directed courses at Harvard's Institute of Politics.

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Books and the Arts

THE MANIPULATION OF AMERICAN LAW

By John Hagel III

The Transformation of American Law, 1780-1860
By Morton J. Horwitz
Harvard University Press, 1977
356 pp., $16.50

The Transformation of American Law is a study of the relationship between certain categories of law and economic change in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The book possesses a significance extending far beyond the confines of its subject matter. For too long, historians have restricted their study of state intervention in the American economy to such visible forms as taxation, subsidies and regulation of business activity. Morton Horwitz, however, focuses attention on a largely neglected form of intervention—the elaboration of legal doctrines in such "private" law areas as tort, contract, property and commercial law which define the "rules of the game" that business enterprises must observe in the conduct of their activities.

It is rather surprising that, with a few notable exceptions, libertarians have also tended to ignore the significance of this form of state intervention. For example, many are aware of the role of state land grants in promoting the construction of an extensive network of railroads but relatively few have noted the importance of changes in legal doctrine that substantially limited the legal liability of railroads for damage which they caused to adjoining property.

Some economists and lawyers influenced by the "Chicago school" have begun to explore the impact of such legal doctrines on economic activity but, characteristically, their primary concern has been an "efficient" allocation of resources. Within this utilitarian perspective, law is viewed largely as an instrument to attain certain economic objectives, regardless of whether or not individual rights are violated.

On the other hand, natural rights libertarians would evaluate a legal system in terms of its success in enforcing the rights of the individuals. From this viewpoint, property rights and the right of self-ownership are not properly subject to manipulation and modification by the legal system; they are independently derived moral concepts which provide a standard for evaluating the justice of specific legal systems.

It is precisely this willingness to pierce the veil of positive law and to apply rigorously a moral conception of rights that provides libertarianism with a fundamentally radical perspective. Yet, while libertarians have eloquently criticized many laws on the grounds of their infringement of individual rights, relatively few have looked critically at the evolution of judge-made common law doctrines, even though it could be argued that this form of law has had a far more widespread impact on individual rights in day-to-day life. One hopes *The Transformation of American Law* will play an important role in drawing the attention of libertarians to this important field of legal and social analysis.

This book challenges many of the assumptions underlying the "consensus" school of history, especially the

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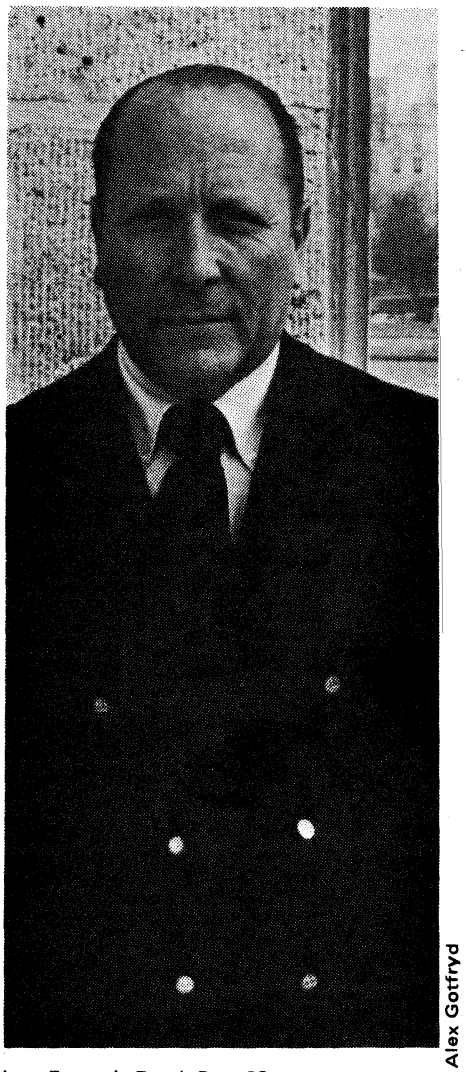
John Maynard Keynes, Page 43



Alex Gotfryd

Jean-Francois Revel, Page 38

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belief that government regulation throughout American history was favored by broad segments of the population who sought to promote some vaguely defined "public interest." Although subsequent historical work has revealed the prominent role of special interests in promoting government intervention, the "consensus" view of history has continued to dominate orthodox accounts of the evolution of common law doctrines. It is this remaining bastion of the consensus school that Horwitz attacks.

The evolution of these doctrines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served the interests of certain emergent economic groups in the U.S. and had a profound impact on the distribution of wealth and power in American society. One of the crucial choices made during this period was to promote economic growth primarily through the legal system; this choice was motivated by a "fear of the redistributional potential of taxation" and by "conscious decisions about who would bear the burdens of economic growth."

As Horwitz's study makes clear, the evolution of common law doctrines did not reflect an opposition to redistribution *per se* but supported specific forms of redistribution that would benefit certain segments of the population at the expense of others. In endorsing these, the courts were guided by a particular conception of economic development which they sought to promote.

Horwitz begins his study by tracing the emergence of an instrumental conception of law during the period 1780-1820. At this time, the courts began to depart from traditional conceptions of natural law and increasingly viewed common law as fashioned by human beings in order to promote certain policy goals. Laws were evaluated in terms of their ability to serve policy goals which changed over time. As a result judges formulated legal doctrines with the self-conscious goal of bringing about social change.

This development was a necessary prelude to the dramatic transformation of American common law that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. The rest of Horwitz's book is devoted to an analysis of the specific changes that began to unfold in various areas of the common law.

In the field of property law, for example, Horwitz summarizes the erosion of many common law doctrines that had emerged in an agrarian, feudal society and which appeared increasingly inappropriate for rapid economic development. Horwitz argues that

> the conception of property gradually changed from the eighteenth century view that dominion over land above all conferred the power to prevent others from interfering with one's quiet enjoyment of property to the nineteenth century assumption that the essential attribute of property ownership was the power to develop one's property regardless of the injurious consequences to others.

Although the feudal common law of property contained many flaws, it is far from clear that changes during the early nineteenth century represented any improvement.

After several intermediate stages, the common law eventually settled on a balancing test or "reasonable use" doctrine which claimed to define the extent to which one property owner would be able to use his own property to the injury of another property owner without being held legally liable. Thus, rather than *prohibiting* such injuries, the common law began to view *some* injurious uses of property as a necessary corollary of economic development.

As a result entrepreneurs who constructed mills or railroads were permitted to injure other property owners and were freed from any liability for the resulting damage. Horwitz correctly observes that this constituted a subsidy to the entrepreneur who profited just the same as if he had been held liable for the damage but had received government grants to enable him to compensate the injured property-owners. There was a difference, however, since the injured property owners were forced to bear the cost while direct grants financed by taxation would have spread the costs over a broader segment of the population. In either case, the entrepreneur succeeded in forcing others to underwrite some of the costs of doing business.

Perhaps the most significant development during this period was the steady erosion of the concept of strict liability and the emergence of a new doctrine of negligence. Horwitz writes that

> under traditional legal doctrine, trespasses or nuisances to land could not be justified by the social utility of the actor's conduct nor could the absence of negligence serve as a limitation on legal liability for injury to person or property.

By the time of the Civil War, however, the concept that an individual was strictly liable for any damage resulting from his action was being replaced by the view that an individual would be held liable for damage caused by his action only if he had acted *negligently* or, in other words, had failed to observe a standard of due care.

One area in which this doctrine had a major impact involved fire damage caused by the emission of sparks by locomotives. According to the new doctrines, owners would not be able to recover for fire damage caused by railroad sparks unless they could show that the railroad had been operated negligently. As a result, railroads found that a significant cost of doing business had been shifted to other property owners.

Horwitz also traces the evolution of doctrines in the field of contract and commercial law. Courts sought to fashion rules that would be conducive to rapid economic development and the emergence of national markets. In a final chapter, Horwitz very briefly describes the re-emergence of legal formalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Having succeeded in using a flexible, instrumental conception of law to transform substantive law in a way which suited their needs and interests, businessmen sought to disguise "the foundations in policy and group self-interest of all newly established legal doctrines." Horwitz summarizes the outcome of the transformation of American law during the period 1780-1850 as follows:

> This transformation in American law both aided and ratified a major shift in power in an increasingly marketoriented society. By the middle of the nineteenth century the

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legal system had been re-shaped to the advantage of men of commerce and industry at the expense of farmers, workers, consumers, and other less powerful groups within the society . . .

In evaluating these developments from a libertarian perspective, it is necessary to go beyond the analysis presented by Horwitz. To begin with, it is not entirely clear how Horwitz himself views the transformation which he describes. Throughout the book, Horwitz convincingly demonstrates that, in fundamentally transforming common law doctrines, jurists believed that such changes were necessary to promote economic growth. On another level, Horwitz argues that, regardless of the intentions of these jurists, the transformation of American law was redistributive in effect, favoring certain groups of the population at the expense of others.

The critical question is whether these legal changes were absolutely necessary to achieve any economic growth at all or whether jurists during this period were only interested in promoting certain specific forms of economic growth and not others. In other words, if we want economic growth, must we resign ourselves to the specific redistributive patterns embodied in legal changes during this period or were there alternative legal frameworks that might have also been conducive to economic growth? Was economic growth only possible if we weakened strict liability and other protections of common law property rights?

Horwitz never clearly states his own position on this issue. There are ambiguous statements suggesting that the jurists were not acting simply on the basis of misconceptions regarding the requirements of economic growth but that, in fact, the legal changes which they implemented were necessary for economic growth to occur. For example:

the process of economic development in the United States *necessarily* involved a drastic transformation in common law doctrines, which required a willingness on the part of the judiciary to sacrifice "old" property for the benefit of the "new".

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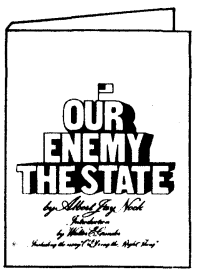

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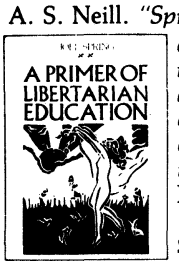

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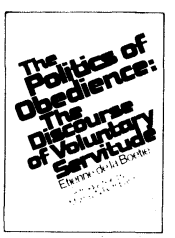

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On the other hand, Horwitz does recognize that there was at least one alternative path to economic growth: using the tax system rather than the legal system. The choice between these two paths was largely determined by the pattern of redistribution that each path entailed. Horwitz does not indicate a preference for one approach over the other nor does he suggest what criteria might be used in choosing between these two patterns.

The book thus provides a brilliant analysis of the changes that occurred in the system of private law and also highlights the redistributive consequences of these changes, but it does not go beyond this. We are left only with a series of vaguely formulated questions. Were the legal changes that occurred "necessary" for economic growth? If they were, should the interest in economic growth have prevailed over property rights? If they were not necessary, what alternative paths to economic growth were conceivable and which set of legal doctrines should the courts have enforced in order to promote a more desirable form of economic growth? Value judgments are required to answer such questions. Horwitz's book studiously avoids making such value judgments.

It might be objected that this is an unfair criticism, that such a concern would have taken the author far beyond the confines of the present work. Nevertheless, in the absence of any explicitly defined standards for evaluating these changes in legal doctrine, critical analysis of the actual course of events and of possible alternative "scenerios" becomes impossible.

Libertarian social theory, with its firm grounding in a moral theory of property rights, should be able to use many of the insights of this study and integrate them with its analysis of the role of the state in American economic history. This will significantly enrich our understanding of the profound impact that legal doctrines have had in structuring economic development. In contrast with such other forms of state intervention as direct subsidies, which are highly visible and yet generally have a relatively limited impact on the economic system as a whole, a change in legal doctrines may have a far more widespread and longlasting impact. For this reason, it is imperative that libertarians begin to devote more attention to this long-neglected field.

In analyzing the developments described by Horwitz, it will be necessary to examine each legal doctrine in detail to determine whether it is consistent with a libertarian theory of property rights. Rather than focusing on the particular pattern of distribution of resources which would result from a specific doctrine, this analysis would proceed from an entitlement theory of property rights. Such an examination will show that the changes were not uniform in affecting the extent to which the common law conformed to a libertarian theory of property rights.

For example, the abandonment of the "just price" assumptions which enabled courts to invalidate certain contracts because of a gross disparity in the "objective" value of the items exchanged, or the related easing of laws against usury, represent *positive steps* towards a more just legal system. On the other hand, the shift from strict liability to negligence in tort law and the rejection of a title-transfer theory of contracts in favor of a will theory of contracts is a *retrogressive* development.

Once this analysis of specific legal doctrines has been undertaken, it will also be necessary to look critically at the claim that these doctrines were "necessary" to the process of economic growth. Libertarians would insist that genuine and sustained economic growth can *only* be achieved within the context of a legal system which consistently enforces individual rights. Any form of economic growth which is based on systematic violations of individual rights can only result in serious distortions that will ultimately return to plague humanity.

As one example, the ecological damage associated with twentieth century industrial growth is in many respects a consequence of the abandonment of the earlier common law doctrine of strict liability. It is interesting to notice the different form that industrial growth might have assumed within a legal framework of strict liability. Horwitz has performed a great service in rasing some of these issues and it is our responsibility to carry the analysis forward within an explicitly libertarian framework.

THE REVOLT AGAINST FREEDOM

By Joan Kennedy Taylor

The Totalitarian Temptation
By Jean-Francois Revel
Doubleday and Company, 1977
311 pp., $8.95

This past September 24 the French Communist and Socialist Parties, who had been partners in an uneasy pact since 1972, broke off an attempt ot renegotiate that pact, making it less likely that the left coalition would come to power in the 1978 French elections. The negotiations ostensibly broke down in a quarrel over whether 729 companies or 227 companies should be nationalized after the elections—not a moot point, since between them the two parties now control about fifty percent of the vote. In the light of the economic problems facing communist and socialist regimes everywhere, what could persuade half the electorate of an industrial democratic country to want to nationalize its economy? Or, as this book puts the question:

> Why are democratic societies, inside and outside their area, vilified much more than totalitarian states? The reason would be clear if Communist or authoritarian socialist regimes had been successful in the pursuit of collective happiness over a long period; and- capitalistic-democratic ones, or those based on a mixed economy, colossal disasters. In the long run, things have worked exactly the other way round. Why then is the philosophy of the less attractive and less affluent of the two systems becoming more and more popular? (Except of course among its own "beneficiaries," who, anyway, are not allowed to change their minds.)

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Jean-Francois Revel is a French writer who has been a teacher of philosophy, art, and literature; a political columnist; and the author of several iconoclastic books. In *Without Marx or Jesus*, his best-known previous book, Revel developed a concept of *revolution* as a major social change, not necessarily implemented by military means, which simultaneously affects politics, social structure, technology, culture and values, and international relations; and detailed his reasons for thinking that the second such revolution (the first was in the eighteenth century) was already started in the United States. In this book, he presents the second and more pessimistic half of his thesis—the new American revolution will probably fail as a world revolution, he thinks, because of the temptation of Stalinism: "the world steadily rejects democracy."

According to him, totalitarian communism (which he calls *Stalinism*) is gaining ground all over the world because it is "the first regime in history to be reactionary at home and revolutionary abroad, oppressive in its domination and liberating in its propaganda. Those who experience it would certainly like to escape it, but they cannot. Those who wish for it have never experienced it; all they see of communism is its critiques, some of them well founded, of the capitalist system and of free democracy."

Revel, who said in a 1975 *Playboy* interview, "I am no longer Marxist in that I no longer believe that revolution is automatic," is coming from the perspective of the Left rather than the Right. One of his main theses is that the Communist movement everywhere is counterrevolutionary. "It no longer needs to be demonstrated," he says, "that Communist regimes are opposed both to Marx's form of Marxism and to (or *therefore* to) the ideals of democratic socialism." And again, "Marx held the idea of party, and even more the single party, to be incompatible with the proletarian revolution." He attacks what he calls "pidgin Marxism": the credo that holds that the capitalistic system is too corrupt to be improved and must be destroyed, and that "this abolitionist mission takes precedence over freedom, democracy, law, elections, and the rights of man." The result of this credo, he points out, is to justify any dictatorship that claims to have a socialist platform, and to sanction political terrorism instead of attempted reforms. And he quotes the Uruguayan poet Ricardo Paseyro, who said, "We forget that Nazism began as packs of armed men calling themselves socialists."

Revel wants to reserve the word *socialist* for anti-Stalinists who believe, with him, that "trying to impose socialism without democracy ends in the simultaneous downfall of both." To them he says, "Socialism can only take root in capitalism and develop by outgrowing—not destroying—capitalist civilization, while preserving its two cornerstones: the capacity to produce, and political, individual and cultural freedoms."

From this point of view, he criticizes not only the U.S.S.R. and China, but socialist governments in general, including a long and interesting critique of the Allende regime in Chile in a chapter entitled "The Refusal to Analyze the Causes of Failure." He speculates that it is the very absence of moral choice that makes totalitarianism attractive to some—the responsibility for the individual is taken over by the state. He defines the temptation that he fears thus:

> It seems to me that the totalitarian temptation is really driven by a hatred on principle of industrial, commercial civilization, and would exist even if it were proved that people in that civilization were better fed, in better health and better (or less badly) treated than in any other. The real issue lies elsewhere: money is sinful, the root of all evil; and if freedom were born of economic development, then it too suffers from that original sin.

The reason that Revel views social democracy as the world's only viable alternative is that it retains some private ownership but seems willing to lessen the power of the nation-state through international mechanisms such as the Common Market and subordinate foreign aggression to domestic well-being. For the emotional heart of his position seems to be an abhorrence of both nationalization and nationalism.

The nation-state, he says, makes "the birth of true socialism" (which he cannot and will not define) impossible, Domestically, he sees nationalism as the force that "impels socialism in a single direction toward a bottleneck in the way of any true economic democracy—I mean the obsession with nationalizing the economy." And he cites example after example of the disasters attendant upon nationalization. Capitalism is "the only efficient producer"; East Germany "is a former capitalist economy wrecked by socialism"; agriculture in the United States, where supposedly the worker is exploited, is vastly more productive than in the Soviet Union. "And let no one tell us about the American 'head start.' That shoe is on the other foot: in 1900 Russian agriculture was more productive than American agriculture." He goes on to comment,

> If the exploitation of man by man is the *only* or even the *principal* cause of the accumulation of capitalist wealth. . .American agricultural workers must be wretched subhumans toiling eighteen hours a day for a few pennies, while the Russian collective farmer, well rested, in flourishing health and freed from alienation, will certainly find time, as Marx advised in a famous passage in his *The German Ideology*, to devote several hours a day to painting and literary criticism.

Nationalization, he points out, always lowers production, a fact that Stalinist apologists insist on ignoring. Even worse, he says, is its effect on freedom.

> Besides the economic disaster assured by any Stalinist management, how can the nationalizers speak of democratic socialism? Anyone who is even vaguely familiar with Marx—and *some* of them must be—must know that in his view there is a necessary relationship between the economic infrastructure and its political superstructure. If that is so, how can the economy be totally managed from the top down unless political power is a carbon copy of that economic power, in other words how can there be a state-owned economy without political dictatorship?

Nor does Revel find the *moral* criticisms of capitalism any more persuasive than the economic ones. He points out that most criticisms of capitalism as a moral system do not compare it with

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any previous or current civilization. Child labor and wage exploitation have always existed, and in fact have been improved by capitalism, not worsened, and he shows that inequities in capitalist societies are less than in communist ones. "Communist societies," he says, "resemble pre-capitalist societies, which were egalitarian in the sense that the generally low standard of living caused virtually the entire population to live at about the same level, or rather to vegetate in about the same misery."

In the realm of foreign affairs, Revel sees nationalism as justifying dictatorship all over the world and keeping the world "an imperialist jungle in which the goal of power will always take precedence over that of well-being." He develops many cogent points in a chapter entitled: "The State as Narcissus." But wait. He calls for the State's abolition in favor of "a globally managed economy, under a political order capable of that global management, in the interest of all mankind (in theory no longer a stupid idea) and with the greatest possible equality among people."

How is one to evaluate this book? Is it half-full of libertarianism, or half-empty? On the one hand, it contains a strong attack on the present-day concept of the state: a vindication of capitalism, not only as an economically efficient system, but as the only system to have produced free societies; and, not least, an arsenal of facts and quotations to prove that all existing Communist parties and all proposals to implement socialism by force—whether in or out of power—are by nature totalitarian. All of this is presented in a winning and readable style—an elegant essay by an informed and witty journalist. For example:

> You cannot lose by being a Marxist-Leninist or a Stalinist in a free society. If the society remains free, you will be in the opposition, with all the guarantees democracy provides to that status, without any great practical risk, and with the prestige of being a nonconformist. If it becomes a totalitarian society in which opposition is no longer tolerated, you will be among the masters or their house servants, in any event one of the beneficiaries of the new order. But you do not have to be an intellectual to calculate the odds on betting on the red.
>
> The unemployment rate in traditional society or in today's underdeveloped rural societies appears in the mortality tables. Our situation-wanted ads in the classified section is the death notice, and the unemployment agency is the cemetery. The jobless are in the tomb.

But on the other hand this book has nothing positive to offer in place of the totalitarian temptation; only vague aspirations which Revel has decided to call "socialism." He sees social democracy as the hope of the future because its citizens can *change their minds* about socialist policies. It is no wonder that he is pessimistic. If, as he thinks, the union control of business in Britain and America's campaign financing laws are examples of "evolved capitalism," other social critics already see the threat of totalitarianism in *those* directions.

This book is a portrait of a mind in transit, and it is symptomatic of the minds of many intellectuals today. Informed people are looking with horror at the world which their principles have helped to mold—at the freedoms that have been lost and at the Dark Age which totalitarian communism threatens to bring to country after country; they see the importance of economic production, of knowledge, of pluralism; and they are afraid that these values will be lost.

As one who is not tempted by totalitarianism, I honor Mr. Revel for caring that there is still some freedom left in the world, and hope that his fine mind and sense of justice will lead him further into libertarian pastures in future books. Perhaps he will come to see that the democratic pluralism which he loves so well is not a *sufficient* condition of a free society, though it may well be a *necessary* one; and that the rights of human beings include the right not to have one's property disposed of by the votes of others.

THE NEW YORK FISCAL CRISIS

By Lawrence White

The Abuse of Power
By Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul
Viking Press, 1977
368 pp., $12.50

The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities
Edited by Rogert E. Alcaly and David Mermelstein
Vintage Books, 1977
361 pp., $5.95

The best factual accounts of the New York City government's ongoing fiscal crisis are not to be found in books, but in articles scattered through recent and back issues of various local features and national business publications. Articles by Ken Auletta in *New York*, Steven R. Weisman in *The New York Times Magazine*, Wyndham Robertson in *Fortune*, and unnamed correspondents in *Business Week* have dug out the important numbers, names, and dates. No single article can provide a comprehensive explanation of the crisis, however; for that task an intelligent book-length treatment is needed. Two books on New York have recently appeared: Roger E. Alcaly and David Mermelstein's *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities: Essays on the Political Economy of Urban America With Special Reference to New York* and Jack Newfield and Paul Du Brul's *The Abuse of Power: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York.*

Alcaly and Mermelstein offer a volume of essays and articles by authors whose viewpoints range leftward from orthodox liberal to non-orthodox Marxist. A great amount of useful factual material can be found in this collection, but it must be plucked from among the largely useless interpretive material which surrounds and often obscures it. For their part, Newfield and Du Brul offer a book which reads like a collection of essays, as though their attention span were limited to the length of a newspaper article. As they flit from one subtopic to another their ideology also seems to move about the spectrum.

An intelligent book-length treatment of the crisis is still wanting. What is needed is a new book on the order of

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Richard J. Whalen's *A City Destroying Itself*. His moving 120-page essay on the prospects for New York, written in 1965, is both profound and prophetic. The primary source of the city's ills, Whalen noted, was then (as now) "the apathy and venality of the city's politicians." He understood that the city's heart and mind was its productive social economy, not its parasitic government, and he never blurred the two together. He pointed out that a shower of federal and local dollars was not improving the lot of the city's poor, but only the grip of its political elite; that the city's streets and parks were being tragically mismanaged by municipal government; that taxes and zoning codes were forcing the construction of graceless skyscrapers; that urban renewal was only lining the pockets of politicially-favored developers; and that rent control was destroying the city's housing stock.

Whalen denounced the grand tyranny of mega-commisioner Robert Moses (the subject of Robert Caro's scathing 1974 biography *The Power Broker*) and the petty jobbery of the city's mayors. He warned that deficit spending was bankrupting the city government and that oppressive taxation was destroying the city's economy, drying up its small businesses and semi-skilled jobs. And he saw the way out, albeit through pessimistic eyes: "It is far more costly to maintain the jobless and 'make' work for them than it would be to reduce spending and refrain from job-destroying taxation. But it is asking too much disinterested logic of Democratic politicians to suggest that they create jobs by cutting the swollen city payroll."

Where Whalen had a poised and balanced style, Newfield and Du Brul have neither. Where his brief work identified the major causes of the city's malaise, their longer work is spotted with serious omissions. They discuss the torching of buildings for insurance in the Bronx without mentioning that only rent control makes continued operation of the buildings economically impossible. They wring their hands over the crime, fear, and death surrounding heroin trafficking and use, but neglect to point out that legal prohibition is responsible for these ef-

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fects. They attribute the exodus of families and businesses to a list of factors ("crime, bad schools, lack of housing, loss of amenities") which does not include high taxes or bureaucratic oppression. They chronicle and generally decry the machinations of the power brokers, yet fail sufficiently to understand that the dominance of government over a city's life—to which they are favorable disposed—entails a supply of power to be brokered. The greater the government, the greater the extent of power, and the greater the rip-offs and machinations.

After an introductory chapter of rhetorical overkill, Newfield and Du Brul begin their account with a history of the fiscal crisis. The odd logic behind their attempts to assess responsibility stands revealed in a paragraph in which they sneer at other writers' histories. They do not dispute the accuracy of Weisman's portrayal of the city government as a "fiscal junkie," but respond: "He made few comments about the profits, motives, or obligations of the pushers who addicted the junkie, however." They seem to deny the evident fact that the "junkie" who chooses to take addicting drugs bears responsibility for his addiction. The mayors of New York were not seduced or hoodwinked by the "pushers" of credit, though the creditors did profit from the mayors' degenerate habit.

The banks, they say, "had overloaded the market" for the city government's bonds and notes and "artificially fostered" the financial crisis by selling off a portion of their stock of city obligations in the months prior to March 1975. In fact, the banks were responding to handwriting already on the wall: the city government had spent and borrowed itself into insolvency, and holding so much of its paper obligations was no longer prudent. The banks did not profit from the collapse of the market for city bonds and notes, but lost some $25 million as the value of the paper they still held plummeted. The authors also take the banks to task for rationally allocating their scarce credit to those areas where it is most productive, namely to thriving rather than decaying neighborhoods and to the Sunbelt rather than to the northeastern United States.

Their inverted sense of responsibility leads Newfield and Du Brul, much like Mayor Beame, to blame the financial crisis not only on the city's creditor banks but on any other parties who abstained from extending further credit when the jig was finally up. The second villain in this episode is thus naturally enough the federal government, whose sin consisted in failing to bankroll the insolvent city government rapidly enough, and in footing too few of its bills. The Nixon formula for revenue sharing involved "serious underfunding for the major cities" because their funds (poor dears!) "remain frozen at prior spending levels."

In portraying the city government as victim (rather than accurately as criminal), Newfield and Du Brul propagate the popular Myth of Underfunding. They plead (as the city's mayors and John Kenneth Galbraith have always pleaded, but no one with any sense ever took *them* seriously) that only more cash at the mayor's disposal will cure what ails New York. They fail to understand that there exists a crucial difference between what is good for the city's government (more revenue) and what is good for its people and their social economy (in truth less government and hence *less* municipal revenue).

The Abuse of Power does contain many important and useful revelations of corruption and rip-offs which have consumed the tax dollars of New Yorkers and crippled their economy. Chapters on "Legal Graft" and "The Clubhouse System" are quite informative, giving behind-the-scenes glimpses at how taxpayers are gouged by the graft involved in all sorts of municipal undertakings: construction projects (like Yankee Stadium), Medicaid, day care, the judicial system, and antipoverty programs.

A chapter on the ruling elite of the city is marred by a failure to make and apply the elementary distinction between the legitimate economic functions performed by businessmen and bankers, which are no problem but a social blessing, and the troubling political powers which they often exercise. The political analyst must recognize (even if the businessmen and bankers themselves may fail to do so) a further distinction between political action taken in defense of legitimate operations and action taken for purposes of securing privilege. Sound analysis of the ruling class can only be founded on a firm understanding of what constitutes ruling and what does not, an understanding of the difference between what Albert Jay Nock called "State Power" and what he called "Social Power." Tax exemptions and zoning variances, for example, are constructive: it is only the remaining taxes and zoning restrictions which are antisocial.

In addition to major analytical errors, there are minor annoyances to be found throughout *The Abuse of Power*. The incredible claim is made that no social movement except perhaps "the prairie Populists" has ever tried to curb the power of the banks, revealing the authors' ignorance of American history, particularly of the Jacksonian movement. A footnote takes another book on the city's governance to task for devoting only two pages to discussion of organized crime, while *The Abuse of Power* spends a mere two and a half pages on municipal employee pensions (less space than it spends on the history of the ILGWU). A chapter on Con Edison provides an excellent revisionist view of the unnecessary and uneconomic monopolization of electrical power by means of municipal and state contracts and regulation, and then concludes by suggesting state monopoly as a solution to rising electricity prices. Throughout, the book tends to give annotated lists where coherent accounts are needed, and anecdotes in place of comprehensive evidence and analysis.

These errors are not limited to the book alone; indeed, this is the only reason they deserve such lengthy criticism. Many of the pieces in *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities* are shot through with similar rubbish. Several essays have surprisingly good passages, however, where their authors reveal that they understand the parasitic and antisocial nature of State power in its local form.

The first two essays, Robert Zevin's "New York City Crisis: First Act in a

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New Age of Reaction" and Roger E. Alcaly and Helen Bodian's "New York's Fiscal Crisis and the Economy," take a peculiar neo-Marxist (or Schumpeterian) view of the business cycle, which vitiates their attempts to place the crisis in a broader context. But they ask many of the right questions regarding the origins of the crisis, and point to many of the important contributing factors. In particular, Zevin observes that the city government doubled its shares of the metropolitan labor force and the metropolitan economic product over the ten years prior to 1974. He unfortunately draws the absurd conclusion that city government was "offsetting" the decline in private economic activity, when in fact it was hastening that decline. Alcaly and Bodian chronicle the growth of the city's debt, and perceptively point out that debt expansion must validate itself by generating future income, or it will eventually bring on collapse. Yet they fail to add that private business debt *is* generally self-liquidating, while government debt is not, for they are mired in the Marxian theory of the falling rate of profit. This is a theory which seems to hibernate during the upswing of a business cycle, and comes out only during the downswing.

Jason Epstein's "The Last Days of New York" provides a competent and informative overview of the growth of the city's government and the (consequent) withering of its productive sector. Epstein cannot resist adding unsupported generalizations, however, such as "New York's decline is probably inseparable from a general crisis in capitalism, the same crisis that has affected Detroit, London, and Tokyo." The next half-dozen essays try to support similar generalizations, oblivious to the status of New York's decline and its government's insolvency as distinct (though related) events, and more importantly as unique historical events. The troubles of other cities must be traced to the specific factors—particularly local government policies—affecting those cities. Yet there are two grains of truth in Epstein's statement. Municipal governments have been ballooning in size throughout the United States and perhaps throughout the world, but this is a political and not an economic trend. Central cities are particularly affected by swings in the business cycle (which is itself not inherent to capitalism but the creature of federal monetary expansion) because they typically house producers of high-stage capital goods. The construction industry of New York provides perhaps the clearest example by its overbuilding of office towers during the last boom and its present stagnation.

The final section of the *Fiscal Crisis* reader is a mixed bag of articles on particular aspects of the recent history of New York's troubles. Its theme, again the relation of events in New York to a supposed general crisis of capitalism, is again composed according to Schumpeterian-Marxian cycle theory. Matthew Edel falls prey to the same Keynesian mythology that befell Zevin: the notion that public-sector jobs serve as a substitute for productive private employment.

Useful statistics are presented in a paper by the Congressional Budget Office, though their full illustrative value is not exploited. A table entitled "New York Compared to Other Large Central Cities" gives the lie to the notion that New York is simply the largest victim of general spending needs independently imposing themselves on American cities. St. Louis, for example, had a *higher* "index of central city disadvantage" and a *higher* fraction of its population on welfare than New York in 1972-73. Yet municipal authorities in St. Louis spent *less than half as much* and employed *fewer than half as many* jobholders percapita. Total debt per capita was less than half as large, and short-term debt per capita was *one-seventh* the size. Further statistics of this sort can be found in Attiat F. Ott and Jang H. Yoo's *New York City's Financial Crisis*, a booklet published in 1975 by the American Enterprise Institute.

A paper by Newfield, an embryonic version of his and Du Brul's book, already displays its genetic defects as well as its better features. Three of the remaining papers blame the banks and the federal government for the city government's insolvency, repeating the tired dogma of the Myth of Underfunding. Mermelstein offers a final piece on "Austerity, Planning and the Socialist Alternative," denouncing the first two alternatives (his critique of the second is worth reading), but never spelling out the third. Perhaps the omission is just as well. By the end of the book the reader is already weary from struggling with fallacy after fallacy.

The libertarian alternative is none of these three, for cutting away nonproductive and often counter-productive city government does not constitute austerity, but the road to harmony and prosperity.

THE KEYNESIAN MUDDLE

By Richard Ebeling

Keynes versus the "Keynesians"...?
By T.W. Hutchison
Institute of Economic Affairs, 1977
83 pp., $5.95

One of the most popular intellectual games among economists nowadays is arguing over what Keynes "really meant." In fact, one prominent economist gained his reputation a decade ago by contrasting "Keynesian Economics" with the "Economics of Keynes."

The vast majority of the contributions to this controversy have been over Keynes' theories. It was inevitable that a discussion would finally begin over what economic policies Keynes "really" believed in. This is now attempted by T.W. Hutchison in an IEA pamphlet entitled *Keynes versus the "Keynesians"...?*

Professor Hutchison argues that "Pseudo-Keynesians" (among whom he lists Joan Robinson, R.F. Kahn, Roy Harrod and Nicholas Kaldor) have not "recognized the various and changing aspects of the unemployment problem" since the 1930's. They go about "proclaiming...what Keynes would have been advocating, decades after his death...which oddly enough,

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usually turned out to coincide precisely with their own particular nostrums." And, he concludes, "'the Keynesian revolution' was carried far beyond anything contemplated in the writings of Keynes."

Extremely sound criticisms are made against these "pseudo-Keynesians" by Hutchison. He dissects their flagrant disregard of the social and economic consequences of inflation; their apologism for the growth and anti-social policies of the trade unions; and their fraudulent attempts to use Keynes to defend various government-induced "economic growth" programs. He, also, explains that "Some of the more extreme pseudo-Keynesians were certainly strongly in favor of destroying the mixed economy and replacing it by a regime of 'purposive direction' and 'comprehensive planning.'"

Hutchison's disapproval of these "pseudo-Keynesians," however, is based upon his own (favorable) interpretation of what policies against unemployment and inflation Keynes advocated. Section II of the pamphlet is devoted to a defense of Keynes' policy proposals for combating the depression of the early '30's, and, in fact, explicitly lashes out against the alternative "Austrian" depression policies being expounded by F.A. Hayek at that time. And he believes that Keynes showed a subtle understanding of inflationary problems by the fact that in 1937 Keynes argued, "We are in more need today of a rightly distributed demand than of greater aggregate demand," since mere increases in aggregate demand might only result in rising prices.

Unfortunately, Hutchison's Keynes is not much superior to that of the "pseudo-Keynesians." Keynes' diagnosis of the depression was centered on a supposed lack of "effective demand" for goods and services that could only be rectified by stimulative monetary expenditures. What the "Austrians" were able to understand was that the unemployment of resources was caused, not by low aggregate demand, but by a failure of wages and resource prices to adjust and reflect the various relative values consumers placed upon the alternative products offered on the market. The policies carried out by the U.S. and European governments—to prop up wages that were under market pressure to adjust downwards—only intensified the cost-price discrepancies.

Keynes' supposed concern for a "rightly distributed demand" carries the sound of understanding that it is relative prices that must be of central concern. But, in fact, it was merely an admission that as an economy pulled out of a depression bottlenecks (i.e., scarcities) would develop. If the government stimulus is not directed towards the sectors in which "slack" still exists, the result would only tend to be rising prices. Seeing this problem, however, is quite different from realizing that only an elimination of wage and price rigidities will create the necessary atmosphere in which full employment can be obtained without inflation.

It would be far better if economists showed less concern with constantly trying to reconcile Keynes with every latest economic fad and innovation and, instead, understood that his aggregate-macroeconomic approach blinded him from grasping the real factors that created and prolonged the Great Depression.

ON VIEW

Ken Russell's VALENTINO Reviewed by David Brudnoy

Ken Russell makes movies to last for ages, or at least through the weekend. He makes movies the way Idi Amin makes the newspapers: grotesquely, dramatically, with a certain panache of excess that reminds one of the child bully on the block succumbing to a tantrum. He is a sight, and a fright; others must clean up his messes and find redeeming social value, or something, since the rest is so awful. Ken Russell is Film's Bad Boy, and like all bad boys he lingers in the mind after he's passed through the room, knocking over the bud vases and discombobulating the polite adults. Ken Russell is a master at taking a perfectly fascinating story and doing it to manic death (*The Devils*), and he can scoop up a piece of pop-70s trashola rockery and translate it for the screen to magnify its enlarged pores like some cosmetic mirror for the acne kid (*Tommy*). If he is handed a slight fragment from a bygone age he will invest it with all the subtlety of a Cunard superliner arriving at dockside after a round-the-world go (*The Boy Friend*), and when given the fascinating lives of Great Men he will miniaturize their idiosyncracies to crotchets and puff up their problems to cosmic size (*The Music Lovers*; *Savage Messiah*; *Mahler*). From time to time (though the times are few and mainly long ago) Ken Russell will assemble from a brilliant cast and a fine story a movie worth remembering forever (*Women in Love*).

Now Ken Russell has met the shade of Rudolph Valentino, introduced it to the sinews and silk of Rudolf Nureyev, carefully excised virtually everything that ever made his films worth a moment's notice, just as carefully recapitulated nearly all his most elaborate and catastrophic conceits, and handed the ever-hope-filled movie audiences of the civilized world a bombastic embarrassment, a catastrophe by which to instruct budding filmmakers in the pitfalls of their chosen craft. Ken Russell has given us *Valentino*. It's enough to inspire several ad hoc anti-defamation leagues, each justifiably aggrieved, in concert justified in putting out a contract on the man United Artists' latest press release describes as "the most provocative of today's film-makers." Provocative, yes; talented, certainly; a master of proportion and balance—in a pig's eye.

At first Ken Russell intended to use Rudolf Nureyev for the bit part of Nijinsky; the then—unselected Valentino and Nureyev as the Russian ballet star were to whirl around Maxim's Ballroom in New York, a sight from which to save our children, as the taxi dancer taught the ballet dancer the tango. The scene survives, but Russell

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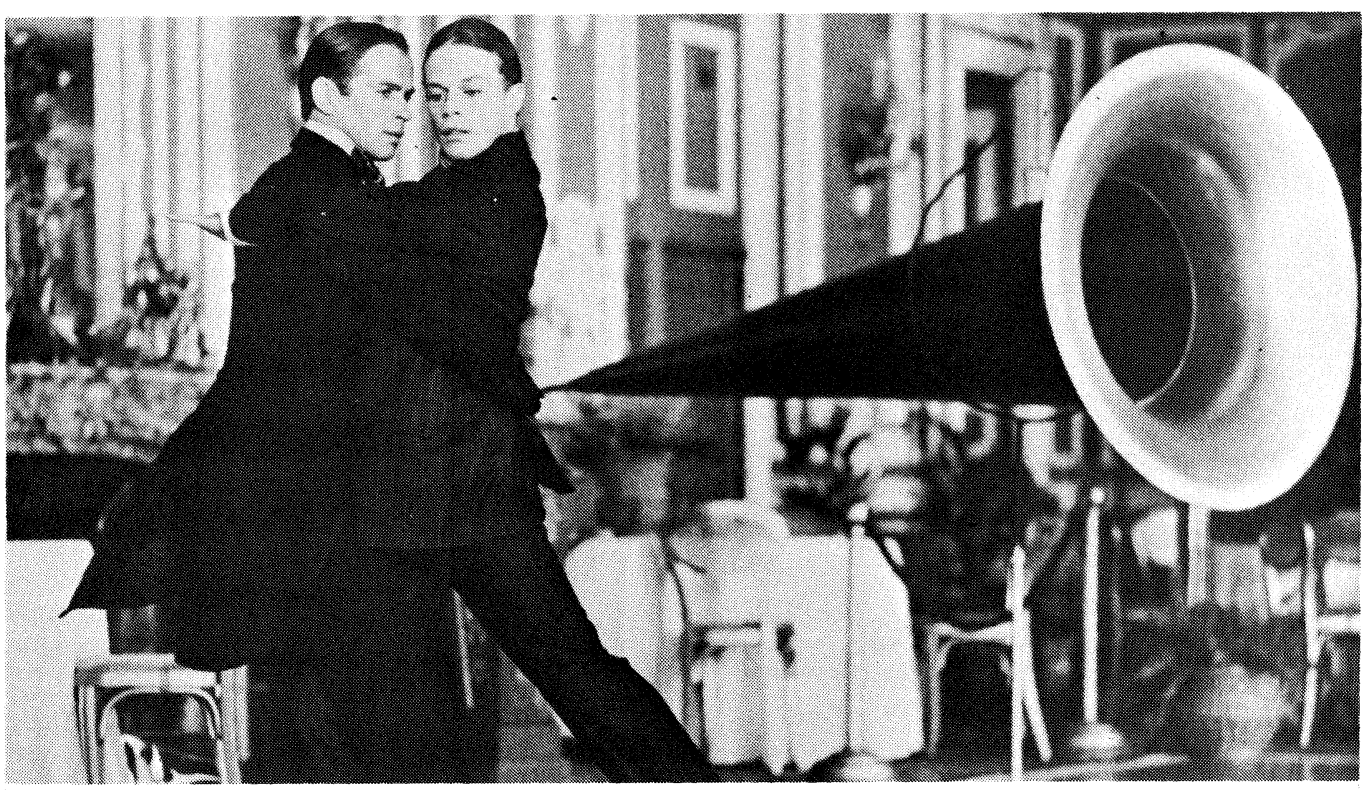
thought better of wasting the most exciting ballet dancer of our time in the cameo role of the most exciting ballet dancer of that time, phoned Nureyev with An Inspiration, and exerted his all to make of a wonderful dancer something resembling a lead actor. Were Bella Abzug to be tapped for a *Playboy* centerfold slot, the inspiration coul be no more audacious nor, sad to relate, more predictably loony. Both the Screen Actors Guild and the Friends of Ballet have cause to think themselves wronged.

But let the casting gaffe slide to the side: the deed was done, and a brilliant talent when in motion, silent, was obliged to spend most of his nearly two hours on screen flexing and posing and tossing his head and, worst, tossing off lines which not even a mother could love, supposed to sound like those an immigrant Italian lad might utter, but here at best scrubbed up Caucasus instead of rustic Castellaneta. The tales of grief told by Nureyev's speech coach belong in some latter-day Lamentations, but let them be, too. Pity the poor woman but pity, also, the audience, which must watch the graceful god in tights thrash about in a voice unfit for the part, in robes that make him look like a Bloomingdale's model pushing the latest in desert chic, in a movie botching a good story unmercifully.

The short unhappy life of Rudolpho Alfonzo Raffaelo Pierre Filibert Guglielmi di Valentina d'Antonguolla has meat enough in it for a straight cinema retelling. But why let the fascinating facts stand for themselves when one Ken Russell is on the spot to jazz it up? Was Valentino a "pink powder puff"? The innuendoes hopped around during Rudolph's life, undeniably. Russell does not care either to rfute or to validate them, only to make the most of the exploitative possibilities. We are given Valentino cruelly showered, literally, with pink powder puffs; tricked into entering a boxing ring to slug it out with a paunchy homophobic journalist and, like a gay "Rocky," to win, thus, supposedly, confirming his manhood.

If homosexuality gets the royal Russell treatment, the female gender gets it worse. From the opening shots at Valentino's 1926 funeral (mob scene, proto-Elvis, Our Hero dead at 31, flashbulbs popping, fill in the blanks), where we meet his women, who tell us in labored flashbacks their varying versions of Valentino, through every moment Leslie Caron, Michelle Phillips, Carol Kane, and Felicity Kendal are on screen, Woman is reduced to instances of the primal myth of the *vagina dentata*. Russell may well dislike homosexuals; he absolutely detests women. He probably loves the legend of Valentino and meant well by it, meant to convey through the garish colors, hideous sets, ghoulish lighting, and outlandish dialogue a cinematic verification of the power Valentino had over half a decade in the popular imagination. Instead, Russell mauled Valentino to mush, wasted Nureyev, and utterly ruined *Valentino*.

David Brudnoy is critic-at-large for WNAC-TV (CBS) in Boston, hosts talk shows on that station and WHDH Radio, writes on the popular arts for several journals, and teaches occasionally at Harvard's Institute of Politics. His thrice-weekly column appears in newspapers and magazines nationwide.



United Artists

Before becoming an actor, Rudolph Valentino (RUDOLF NUREYEV) teaches the tango to famed Russian ballet star Nijinsky (ANTHONY DOWELL) in Maxim's Ballroom in New York where Valentino worked as a 'taxi-dancer.' in "Valentino."

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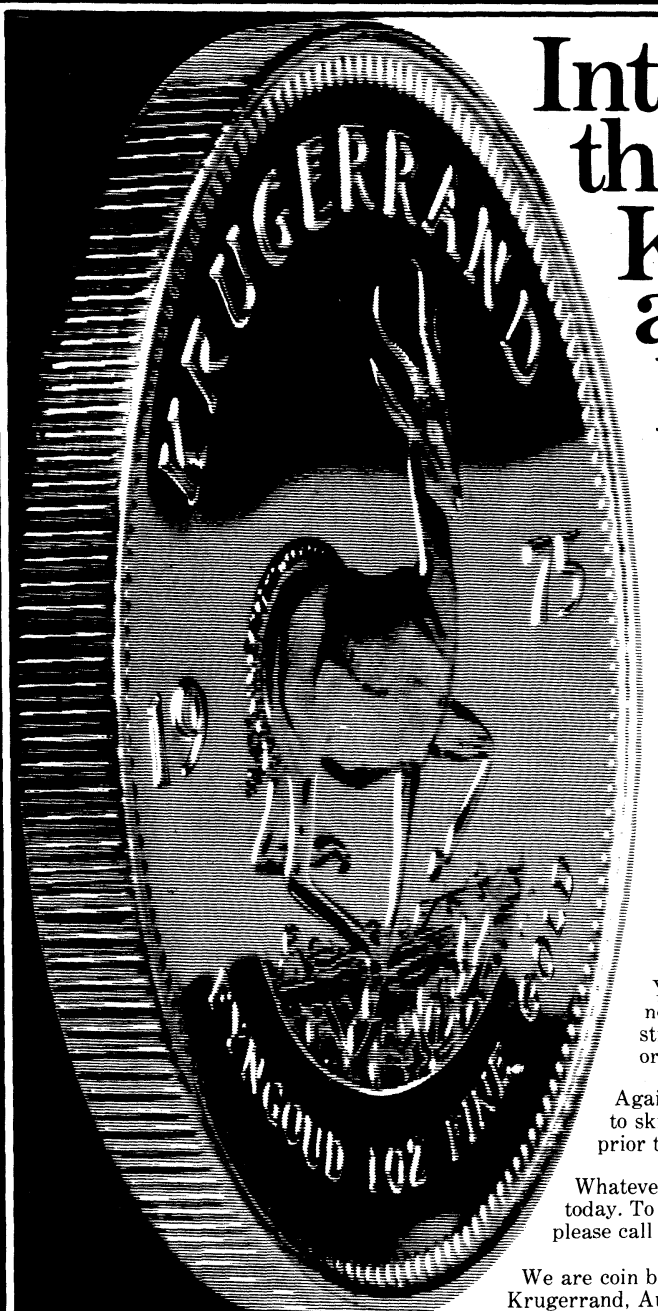

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Many things, of course, but successful political movements have one thing in common: each has its *independent, respected publication devoted to events and issues.*

Now the libertarian movement has such a publication: the *new* Libertarian Review.

The story behind the new LR.

The libertarian movement desperately needed a publication focused on *events*. A magazine that would subject national and international developments to careful, probing libertarian analysis.

The new LR will be precisely that. It will be a magazine that consistently comes to grips with the key issues of our time. A magazine willing to *fight* for individual liberty. A magazine that serves as a forum for lively debate, thoughtful commentary, fresh ideas, and occasional whimsy.

What you'll find in our pages.

Of course, LR will continue to provide first-rate coverage of the libertarian movement itself. Our pages will contain colorful, on-the-scene reports of its activities, its organizations, its strategies and its people.

But the new LR will be far more than just another "movement" publication. By systematically translating principles into practice, we will bring libertarianism to the real world, and the real world to libertarianism.

This editorial philosophy, this animating spirit, is reflected in the issue you're reading right now. In timely, relevant articles. In the columns and departments. In our new format with its sharp, modern graphics.

As for coming issues, you can look forward to provocative essays on the supression of political ideas in America, the decline of New York City, pornography and the law, American foreign policy, the "energy crisis," the libertarian movement and many more. Plus regular columns and features like "Crosscurrents" and "Washington Watch," hard-hitting editorials, and crisp, in-depth reviews of books and the arts.

LR will continue to boast a roster of contributors that includes the top names of libertarianism. People like Murray N. Rothbard, Roger MacBride, Ralph Raico, Joan Kennedy Taylor, Walter Grinder and Earl Ravenal and many others.

As always, LR guarantees to aggravate, stimulate and infuriate. It will raise questions you've wondered about for years—and some you'd never dream of considering. It may challenge many of your most firmly held beliefs. But—and this is a promise—it will *never* bore you.

Get in on the excitement—from the beginning.

The new LR will soon be in the forefront of the most exciting intellectual-political movement in two centuries. As the first and only libertarian magazine of events, we'll be shaking things up issue after issue—*both inside and outside* the libertarian movement.

Here's your invitation to get in on the action—by becoming a charter subscriber to the *new* Libertarian Review. (Already a subscriber? Then renew now, so you'll be sure not to miss a single thought-provoking issue.) Subscribe now and get 12 monthly issues for $15. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. If we ever let you down, just tell us and we'll send you a prompt refund for the balance of your subscription.

The new Libertarian Review will be charting the course of America's second libertarian revolution. Don't get left behind. Join us today.

After all, the debut of the first libertarian magazine of events is something of an event in itself.

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Libertarian Review, Inc.
200 Park Avenue South, Suite 1707, New York, N.Y. 10003

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